

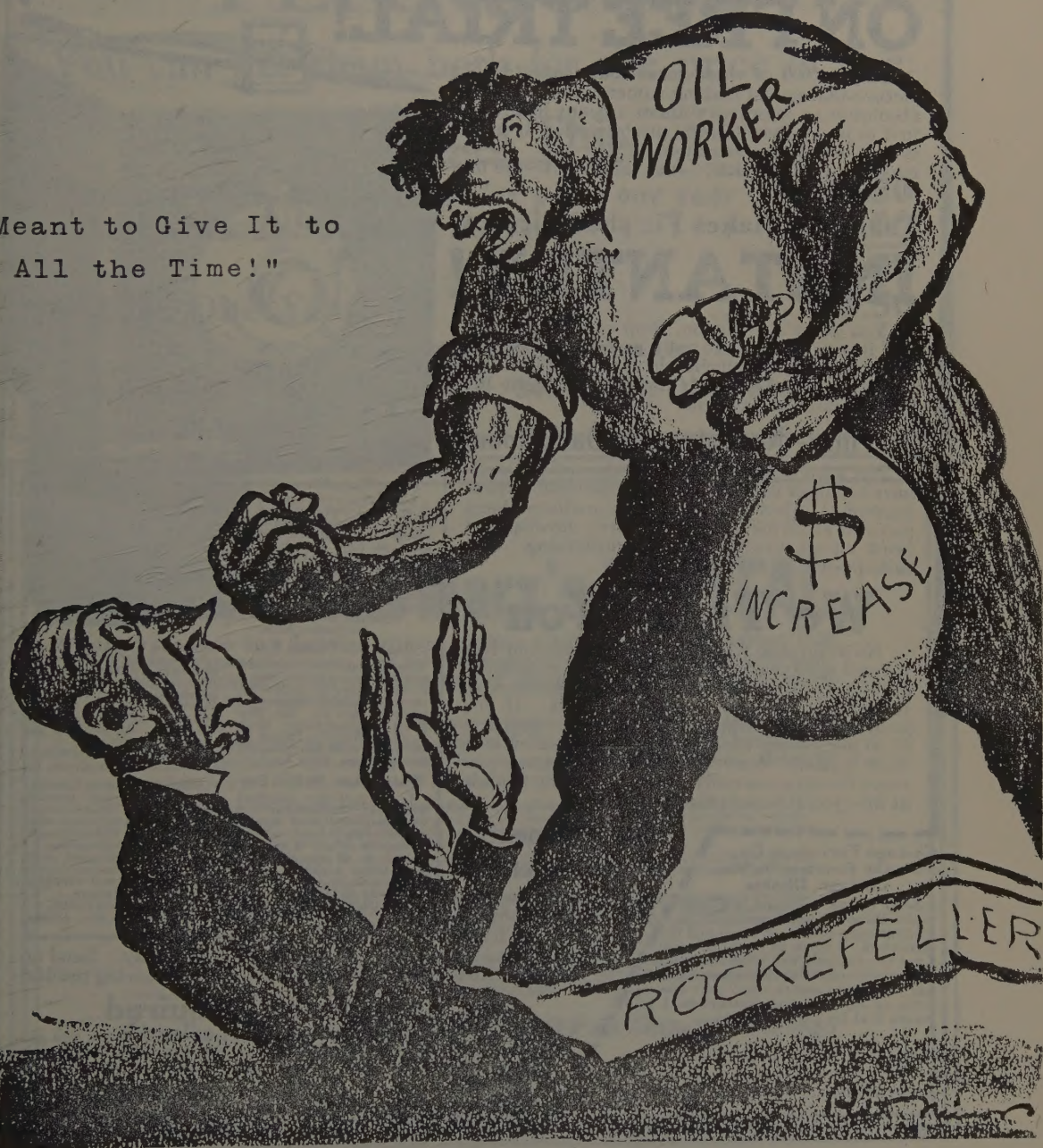
SEPTEMBER, 1915

The

PRICE TEN CENTS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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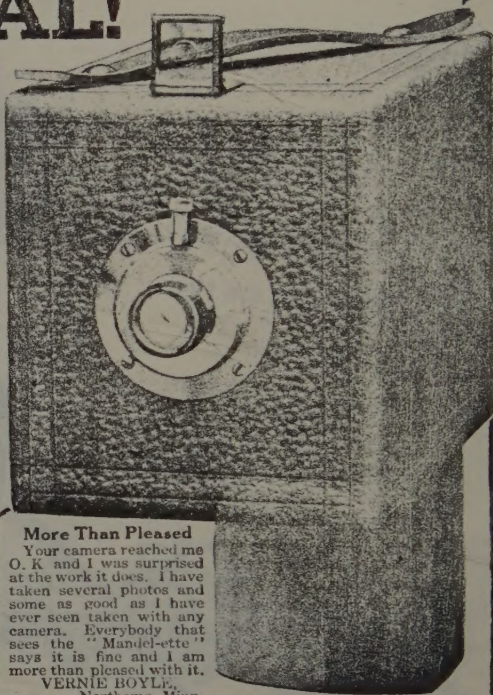
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Your camera reached me O. K. and I was surprised at the work it does. I have taken several photos and some as good as I have ever seen taken with any camera. Everybody that sees the "Mandel-ette" says it is fine and I am more than pleased with it.
VERNIE BOYLE,
Northome, Minn.

Beats All Things Yet

The "Mandel-ette" received and opened and in 20 minutes I took a splendid picture of my wife, fully developed and ready to look at. My, this beats all things yet.

T. J. HOUTS, Pastor,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
South, Welch, West Va.

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I am perfectly delighted with the "Mandel-ette." I have had very good success never before to have handled a camera at all. I can say it will do all you claim. I have taken a picture which shows a Mt. more than 4,000 feet away and on a very dark day.
JAS. H. HUBBARD,
Penhook, Va.

Anyone Can Use Them

Received the "Mandel-ette" and supplies Saturday evening Sunday morning we began to take pictures and had very good luck. It is sure simple enough. Anyone can use them. We couldn't get along without ours.

MRS. R. U. HODINGS,
Mapleton, Ia.

Amazed At Minute Camera

I am enclosing pictures taken with my "Mandel-ette" to show you gentlemen what I am making. Nobody taught me but your instructions. I am making pictures with great pleasure and my friends are amazed at your very high grade minute camera.

C. SATURN,
Santa Ana, Alaska.

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other styles

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No. 3

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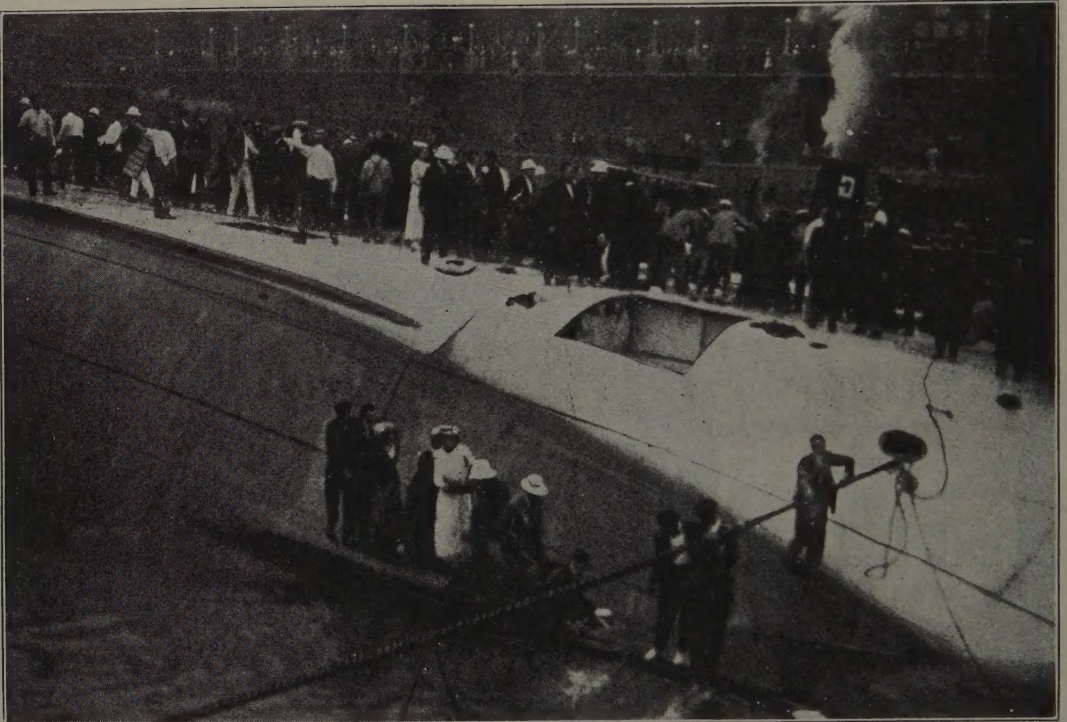
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVI

SEPTEMBER, 1915

No. 3



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FIFTEEN MINUTES AFTER THE EASTLAND TOPPLED OVER INTO THE CHICAGO RIVER WITH 2,500 MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN ON BOARD.

LOOKING 'EM OVER

By CARL SANDBURG

IN the second largest city in America, a passenger steamship, tied to the dock, loaded with 2,500 working people dressed in their picnic clothes, topples slowly and sinks to the river bottom like a dead jungle monster shot through the heart. Over 1,000 men, women and children, trapped like rats in a cellar, are drowned.

The foregoing piece of news sent out to American cities one Saturday was at first

not believed. It was the ghastliest commentary on American efficiency so far written into national history. No one fact among all those uncovered in the days following stood out more sinisterly than that the head of the United States Department of Commerce, under which steamboat inspection is carried on, is perhaps the foremost figure in the American efficiency movement.

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, Secretary of Commerce, since the death of Frederick C. Taylor, is the most widely quoted authority on efficiency. He is a Brooklyn iron manufacturer, whose most famous speech as a congressman pointed to how American manufacturers are able to compete in free markets with all other manufacturers on earth, because the American makers of goods for sale are able to squeeze four times as much labor energy

if you must squeeze out life, blood and manhood of workingmen in the profit-making operation involved.

IN THE Redfield efficiency gospel, organization, business and factory organization, the co-ordination of many human units into one rapid and perfect machine, is the ideal.

Why didn't this ideal work out in the bureau of steamboat inspection service directly responsible to Redfield? Why didn't



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IDENTIFYING THE DEAD, SECOND REGIMENT ARMY.

and craft ability from their workmen as the makers of competing nations.

"Efficiency?" asked Redfield, "the American business man leads the world in efficiency!"

On taking the portfolio of commerce secretary, the speeches and writings of Redfield were gathered into a book and every business and manufacturing publication in the United States is quoting from this book as a gospel worth taking and using. And the truth is: This Redfield gospel of efficiency is worth taking and using—if you want to make profits and if, first of all, the consideration is how much money you are going to squeeze out of the business even

Redfield co-ordinate the human units, the high salaried bureau heads under him, so as to stop a cranky, unstable ancient hoodoo tub like the Eastland from going loaded with 2,500 human lives? There's one answer. Business required it.

The Redfield ideal is business. The business interests who run the Great Lakes and the coast and the oversea steamship lines told Redfield everything was all right with the inspection service and there was no danger. So he, like a faithful bureaucrat, considering himself responsible only to business, lifted no finger to change the inspection service. Warning after warning came to his hands.

SECRETARY ED NOCKELS of the Chicago Federation of Labor wrote a letter to Edwin Sweet, first assistant to Redfield, predicting that unless a genuine instead of a bunk inspection was started, a boat would go to the bottom some day in Chicago river while "tied to the dock."

Fathead Redfield sat in his easy chair in Washington, chatted with business men on the beauties of efficiency, his ears deaf to Andy Furuseth of the Coast Seamen's Union, and his ears deaf to Victor Olander of the Lake Seamen's Union, and his ears deaf to every plea for more human safety and more social efficiency on the lake steamships. The efficiency of Fathead Redfield is a business efficiency and not a social efficiency. And that is one prime explanation of why the Eastland became a coffin boat from which truckloads of dead working people were hauled away one Saturday.

FROM year to year a slaughter of seamen on the Great Lakes goes on. Scores of old tubs run as freighters on which a modern capitalist wouldn't trust a pet dog or a fast race horse.

Drowned seamen, however, are no cost to the shipping trust.

The big bulk of ship property is owned by the Rockefellers and the United States Steel Corporation.

A deck hand or a sailor is as cheap a human pawn to the Rockefellers as a striking Colorado miner. And to the steel trust a deck hand or a sailor is the same as a Pittsburgh or Gary wop.

"Let 'em die; there's more where they came from," is the slogan.

Now, it is these property interests which have the largest profit from control of the United States steamboat inspection service.

There is not on record a single instance of these capitalist interests being rammed or dented by George Uhler, supervising inspector general of the inspection service, or Albert L. Thurman, acting secretary and solicitor. These are the heads of the bureau. They know what "the mysterious influence" is by which any inspector who makes trouble for steamship interests gets his official head lopped off.

IN NOVEMBER, 1913, it happens that 1240 seamen and deck hands are drowned on 34 vessels; 12 boats go down with captain, crew and all aboard.

Is there a stern, relentless, searching inquiry to find out why life must be sacrificed in such wholesale quantity?

Do they haul before inquiry boards all the witnesses who can tell anything about the stability and seaworthiness of the vessels, the conditions of gangways and hatches through which water may pour and sink a boat?

Not so that anybody notices it. Not so that when the Eastland went down and 800 died like rats one Saturday morning and the stern demand is made of the inspection service that it produce the results of previous investigations, the service officials can produce nothing better than a few sheets with silly entries which are nothing more than copies of newspaper stories in lake port cities.

A Duluth inspector, John Sloan, orders hatch fasteners placed on hatches. The company refuses to obey the order. Sloan writes Washington. Washington tells him to come on and see them. He comes on. They tell him to "forget" about the hatches. He goes home and gives out an interview to a Duluth paper saying he has done the best he can to get hatch fasteners on the boat as a safety and life protection measure, but he has gone as far as he can go.

A Cleveland inspector also orders hatch fasteners. The company so ordered has headquarters in the Rockefeller building. Also the company is powerful enough to present the inspector with a letter from Washington stating that the order for hatch fasteners is reversed. So the inspectors all down the line feeling "the mysterious influence" operating against them settle down to an inspection that is no inspection at all and everything goes along smoothly. A few dozen sailors are drowned occasionally.

Deck hands put their faith in whisky instead of God and the government at Washington.

Then the Eastland and its wholesale slaughter comes and hell-raising anger arises from such masses of people that even President Wilson is aroused to action and the promises are now definite that there will be more safety for workmen and for passengers on lake boats. But why such a cost?

BEHIND the thousand working class dead of the Eastland is the story of the why they started on a picnic the day of

their deaths. They went because they were afraid of their jobs. Of course, they didn't know they were going to die on the Eastland. The Western Electric Company for which they worked didn't know they were off on a death harvest instead of a lake and woods outing. But what the Western Electric workers know and what the officers of the Western Electric know is this terrible fact:

There was no choice for the wage slaves of that corporation. The foremen came to the employes with tickets. The employes bought tickets and went to the picnic because it was part of their jobs.

THE Western Electric is an auxiliary of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, the wire communication trust. Photographs of the Western Electric workers, thousands of them marching in white hats and white shoes make good advertising for the Bell 'phone monopoly. All arrangements had been made beforehand for those who sank with the Eastland to parade on the streets of Benton Harbor. Pictures were to be made.

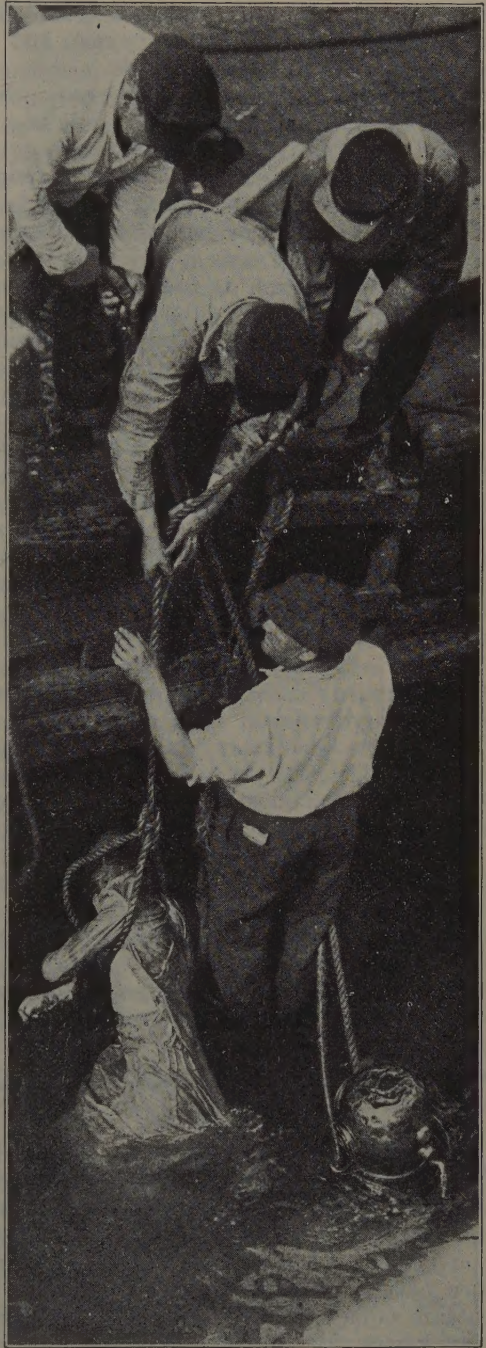
Did the Western Electric offer the workers white hats and white shoes free for this parade? It did not. It told the workers they would be expected to have white shoes and so each paid from a dollar to two dollars out of their slim pay envelopes. And the white hats were outrightly forced on each one at a price of thirty cents apiece.

Grim industrial feudalism stands with dripping and red hands behind the whole Eastland affair.

IT'S a workingman's war. Shovels and shoveling take more time of soldiers than guns and shooting. Twenty-one million men on the battlefields of Europe are shoveling more than shooting.

Not only have they dug hundreds of miles of trenches, but around and under the trenches are tunnels and labyrinths and catacombs. All dug by shovels. Technically, in social science and economics, the soldier is a parasite and a curious louse of the master class imposed on the working class. Yet strictly now the soldier is a worker, a toiler on and under the land.

He's a mucker, a shovelman who gets board and clothes from the government that called him to the colors. A mucker-gunman—that's what a soldier is. And



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PULLING UP THE DROWNED.

twenty-one million are out on a job of digging and shooting to kill each other.

LET the Swiss military system come. It means a free rifle for every man and a belt of cartridges for every rifle.

Your home, Mr. Workingman, the rooms where you live and sleep, will be an arsenal. That is, if the United States government goes through on the Swiss system. Roosevelt is for it now. Victor Berger has been for it for years. The last time Berger spoke about it, he was a delegate to an American Federation of Labor convention. The A. F. of L. delegates busted paper bags and made a noise, hooting Berger. Now Roosevelt says the Swiss system is good, and while it's hard to say yes to anything coming from the horse-teeth patriot and politician of Oyster Bay, it's a cinch the labor movement will join T. R. on the Swiss system stuff. We wonder whether George Perkins and the other Steel Trust plutes around T. R. will say yes to the proposition that every wop working in the steel mills shall have a rifle in his house and be trained to shoot straight.

That's what the Swiss system means; the government will train you to be a gunman; the government will order you to a rifle range to practice on a target; the government will teach you to be an expert destroyer of human life; you will develop into a more quick and sure killer of men.

Every striking workingman under those conditions will be more dangerous to scabs, strikebreakers, gunmen and thugs than now. When compulsory military service is suggested for the people of this country, let the working class stand solid for the Swiss system, whereby each workingman is given his own gun and belt of cartridges to keep in his home to be ready for "mobilization."

A POSTER on billboards in England, Scotland and Ireland shows a soldier shaking hands with a workman. Under this picture are the words: "We need you both." In each and all of the wartorn nations the workman is praised as a patriot equal to the soldier. The German kaiser, for instance, has issued several public statements on what the German nation owes to its railroad men and the expeditious movements of troops effected by the rail workers.

A workman in the Royal Arms Small Arms Factory, England, died. A coroner's inquest was called. Doctors said death was caused by "syncope brought on by prolonged exertion of the heart." Witnesses testified the man had been working 80 hours a week for eight months. The coroner said the workman was a type of the true patriot and "had died for his country."

This inquest raises a nice point. It assumes that you are a patriot belonging to whichever country you're making food or munitions or other war stuff for. That is: The Bethlehem cannon makers are English patriots. If they get brass dust in their blood and die, they die for England. The special sausage makers of Swift & Co. in Chicago, which has sold millions of pounds to the German government, these workers for Swift are German patriots, and if they get sick and die from overwork or bad sanitation at Swift's while making sausage for the Germans, they die for Germany.

Some plants making war stuff keep secret what nation it's for. The workers in such plants are patriots. But if they die from overwork they don't know what country they're dying for.

ON the capture of Warsaw, the Kaiser wrote the King of Wurtemberg: "May we see in this event an important step forward upon the road which Almighty God has led us." J. C. Squire in the *London Herald*, writes:

"God heard the embattled nations sing and shout:

'Gott strafe England' and 'God save the King!'

God this, God that, and God the other thing—

'Good God' said God. 'I've got my work cut out.'"

WARREN STONE, the \$10,000-a-year bonehead, who is Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Railway Locomotive Engineers, ought to take a look at the wage raise Chicago street car men got through a strike which forced the kind of arbitration the car men wanted.

Stone used the limit of his power to stop his union from strike a year ago. Feeling among the engineers was overwhelming for a strike. But Stone and his "administration" was able to hold them back and

throw the whole matter of wages into an arbitration controlled by federal politicians in turn controlled by railroads.

The railroads put Charley Nagel, a St. Louis Standard Oil and railway attorney on the arbitration board. And instead of a \$40,000,000 wage raise as demanded, the engineers along with firemen got a measly \$1,000,000.

Here's what the Chicago car men did. When the men demanded a wage raise the companies said, "Arbitrate." The rank and file agitators forced the officers of the union to hold off from the sort of arbitration proposed, wherein the companies would accept only such arbiters as everybody knew would line up with the companies and against the men. The workers were bunked on that kind of an arbitration three years ago. Strike was called when all umpires offered by the car men were refused by the companies. For two days the two million people of Chicago walked or rode in jitneys. The town was tied up tight. The companies then offered the mayor of Chicago for an umpire. The car men knew the mayor. They knew he was a safe bet for an arbitration board. They knew the companies would never have accepted the mayor for an umpire before the strike. The transportation tie-up forced the street railway capitalists into giving the car men the real thing in the way of arbitration. The states attorney, Maclay Hoyne, was chosen by the men to represent them. The third arbiter was the car companies' man, James Sheean, the lawyer, who represented the 98 western railways in the arbitration that bunked Warren Stone's union.

And what did this board in Chicago do? Two members decided they would drop all

question of what the companies are able to pay and award pay raises on the basis of the question: What does it cost working men to live decently?

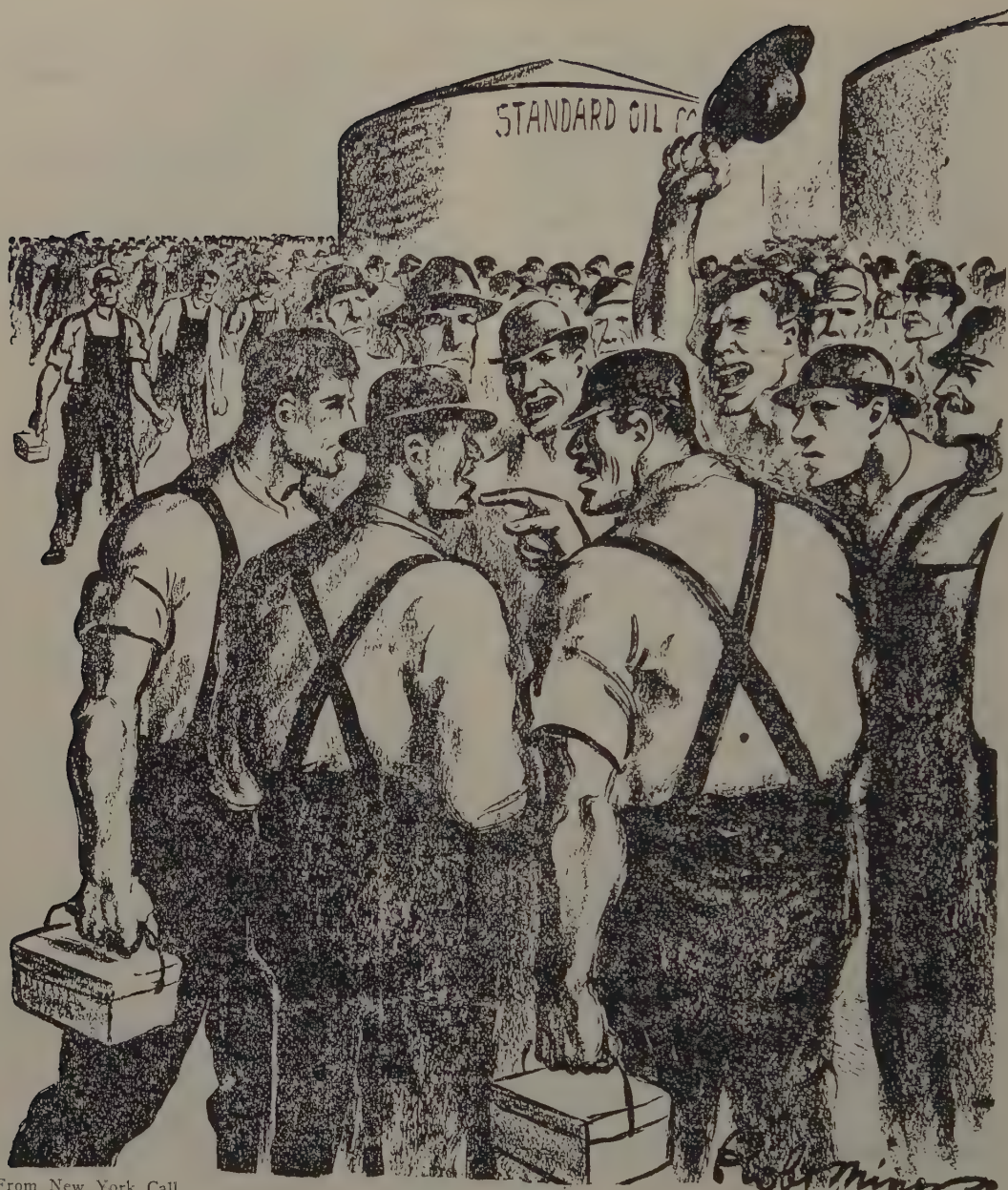
The award handed down by Mayor Thompson and States Attorney Hoyne granted a general increase ranging from 3 to 4 cents an hour for all motormen and conductors and from 20 to 30 cents a day for all repairmen, bridgemen, flagmen, watchmen. It was the most amazing decision of the sort ever rendered. It will cost the companies over \$1,000,000 a year. It was an arbitration backed by a strike. If the companies had crawfished on it and taken it to a higher court, there would have been another strike by the men in order to enforce the arbitration decree.

So this is the way it stands: 65,000 western railway engineers and firemen, under the leadership of Warren Stone and W. S. Carter meekly and humbly accept exactly the kind of arbitration handed them by the railroads. They don't strike. The men are held back by their "superior officers." And the 65,000 get a wage raise of \$1,000,000. In Chicago, 14,000 street car men strike to force the kind of arbitration they want. And 9,000 surface street railway workers get a wage raise of \$1,000,000 while the elevated road employes are still negotiating after having turned down an offer of more than \$250,000 annual wage increase.

If these facts and what they mean ever sink into the heads of a still larger group of the rail workers, it will be all day with the arbitration bunk regularly passed out by Warren Stone, the \$10,000 a year humdinger who acceded to Charley Nagel sitting as an arbiter.

" 'The King can do no wrong' not only because he is above the law, but because every function is either performed or responsibility assumed by his ministers and agents. Similarly, our Rockefellers, Morgans, Fricks, Vanderbilts and Astors can do no industrial wrong, because all effective action and direct responsibility is shifted from them to the executive officials who manage American industry."

—From Press Abstract of Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations.



From New York Call.

NOW ORGANIZE!

THE BATTLE AT BAYONNE

FIVE THOUSAND oil workers in Bayonne, New Jersey, are taking more money home in their pay envelopes on Saturday nights as the result of their spontaneous strike against the Standard Oil Company on July 14th. They were not "free American citi-

zens," but mostly foreign-born Poles and Lithuanians, known on the payroll by the numbers on their brass checks.

But their splendid solidarity overwhelmed all odds; lack of organization and language differences, a double-crossing sheriff and 500 Waddell thugs armed

with Standard Oil repeating rifles. Solidarity won and always will.

Chairman Frank P. Walsh of the U. S. Industrial Relations Committee sent two of his ablest investigators to Bayonne, who have reported in part as viz.:

"The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, although conducting an enormously profitable enterprise, pays wages too low to maintain a family on a comfortable, healthful and decent basis. In Bayonne it paid common laborers at a lower rate than those of two companies whose plants adjoin its refinery. This is in direct contradiction to the claims of the company in a statement issued at 26 Broadway, New York, that it always has paid the prevailing wage or better."

The still-cleaners, 100 strong, started the strike by asking a 15 per cent raise, which was promptly turned down and their committee fired. Their wage was \$2.45 for working long hours in a temperature of from 200 to 300 degrees—scraping tar.

The barrel makers demanded 10 per cent and quit work. The strike spread until every man was out. Box and can workers, pipefitters and boilermakers, case makers and yard laborers.

The Industrial Commission report continues:

"On Wednesday, July 21, the Standard Oil Company began the importation of strike-breakers and ordered a large number of armed guards from Berghoff Bros. & Waddell, a strikebreaking and detective agency, of 120 Liberty street, New York City. As the strike-breakers were proceeding up Twenty-second street, on their way to the plant, they passed through a crowd of about 300 strikers. Trouble immediately ensued and the strikers were rapidly reinforced. A detachment of police immediately charged the strikers. Some of these police were mounted, some on foot. The charge, however, was ineffectual, as the strikers' rocks proved more effective than the clubs and revolvers of the police. Guards of the Standard Oil Company came out with their nightsticks to help the police, but they, too, were forced to retreat. Some of the police and company's guards were forced into a fire engine house for refuge, and others surrendered to the strikers. One of the strikers, a boy 19 years of age, was shot through the head and killed. This was known as the battle of the Black Ditch."

In Harper's Weekly for August 7, while the strike of the Standard Oil employees was still young, Amos Pinchot said:

"Last Wednesday the strikers stood around the streets. There had been no fighting till then.

"Then armed guards came in. They were

not police, not deputies, but simply private individuals recruited by the company in anticipation of trouble. But they did not stay on the company's property. They marched the streets and dispersed the crowd, shoving the men along, and telling the women to go home. "That started things.

"We went up in the air," one of the strikers told me. "They'd a right to stay on the company's grounds. Why did they come right out in the town and club us off the sidewalks? They didn't own the streets, did they?" Fist fights started, clubs rose and fell, stones flew, pistols were drawn, and the 44 calibre Winchesters of the mine guards barked while the crowd surged toward the company's gates."

* * * * *

"A reporter said to me, 'I have never seen anything like it—the sheer grit of these men. Twice, practically unarmed, they charged the ten-foot stockade from behind which the guards were picking them off with Winchesters. About a hundred actually scaled it, swinging and pulling each other up, while the women and children cheered them. It was like one of those cavalry drills at Madison Square Garden. Only the difference was that a quarter of them were shot down before they reached the ground on the other side. If the guards had shot better they'd have got all of them. Even the kids are in this strike. They gathered stones and sailed in with the men. A bunch of little chaps from ten to fifteen years old sneaked up to the fence and lighted a fire to burn it down. They wanted to make a hole for their fathers and big brothers to go through. I saw one youngster catch a loose police horse, crawl on its back and ride up to the stockade, swinging his cap and yelling while the men charged.'"

"Now for the cause of the strike. Contrary to my preconceived idea, the Rockefeller employees at Bayonne are not well treated. They are underpaid and live in greater poverty and squalor than even the workers of the fertilizer companies who struck last winter at Roosevelt. A school teacher who seemed to know what he was talking about said that from six to ten families often live in a two or three story frame house. Among the lower paid men it is a steady struggle against want. Here are some of the wage scales told me by strikers who gathered around us at the bullet scarred shanty which is used for headquarters.

"Another grievance was what they called the new management. Under the old management a list of names went into headquarters three times a year of men recommended for increased pay. Since the new manager came, no such lists have gone in. Again, for the work of dumping the wax presses, Hennessy, the new manager, reduced the number of gangs from fourteen to ten. Thus about a quarter of the dumpers were laid off, and the men left on the job claimed the work was too hard. One of them told me that a man often worked 168 hours in two weeks, with one twenty-four hour shift when the night shift is changed and becomes the day shift.

"These are some of the causes of the strike—there are others—which rose first to the strik-

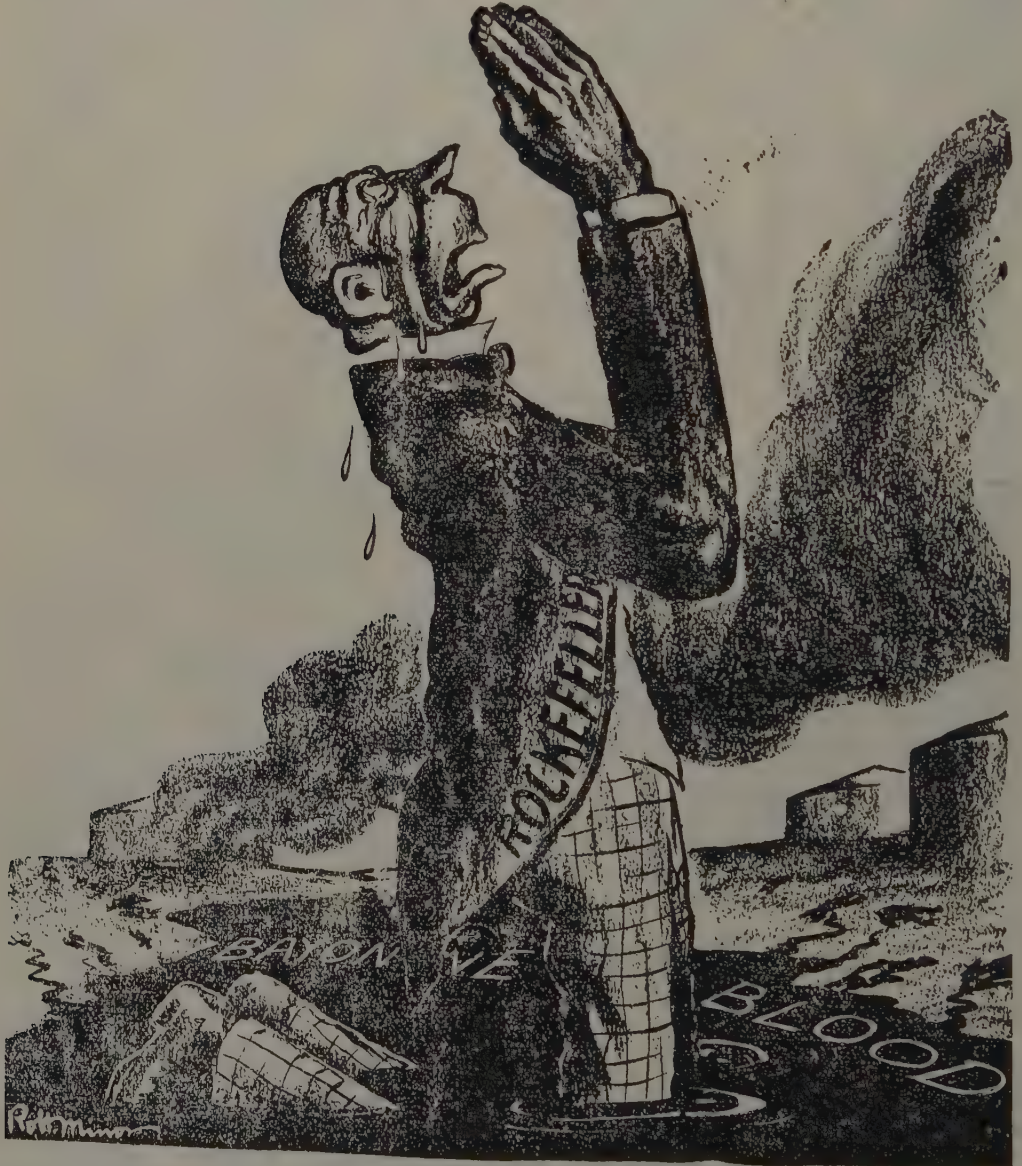
ers' minds, as they talked; and then there was the feeling that the company, which they believed to be making big money just now, could especially well afford to raise wages to a living scale."

In the report made by Messrs. West and Chenery to Mr. Walsh we read that on

"Thursday afternoon guards from the Ascher agency, of New York, reached the property of the Tidewater Company, and that evening took charge of the patrolling of the works. These men had evidently been hastily picked up, for they showed no familiarity with fire-

arms or knowledge of discipline. In fact, so awkward were they with the rifles that one guard accidentally shot one of his fellows in the ankle, necessitating amputation of the leg. The men were utterly irresponsible and kept on firing indiscriminately during the night, either to test their weapons or through sheer nervousness. This continual firing, of course, enraged the strikers and kept things in a ferment.

"The commander of the Ascher men had been one of those in charge of the guards at Roosevelt in January, when these guards killed or wounded twenty strikers. The company was so alarmed by the conduct of these men



From New York Call.

"GOD SAVE MY DOLLARS!"

that the next day at noon they summarily discharged them and substituted men from the Berghoff agency in their place. These Berghoff men were also hastily recruited and were characterized by the Berghoff attorney as a lot of irresponsible thugs. The organization of the Berghoff Company, though, was far superior to the Ascher guards. After their substitution there were no casualties.

"Thursday, July 22, at noon, saw the last serious clash. During that night, however, there was occasionally an exchange of shots between the company guards and the strikers, who were on roofs of houses taking pot shots at the guards.

* * * * *

"The leader of the strike had been a young Elizabeth City Socialist by the name of Jeremiah Baly. He was a salesman employed by the Singer Sewing Machine Company, and had come to Bayonne at the commencement of the trouble. He had taken part in several discussions of the situation and had at several times addressed the crowd of strikers. Sheriff Kinkead was impressed with this young man and suggested to the strikers that they select him as a member of the Strike Committee. This the strikers did and he represented them in their committees which went to see the company officials and in negotiations with the city authorities.

"The men all had back pay coming and after much dispute it was finally decided that they should go in groups inside the Standard Oil stockade and get their pay at the window. The sheriff insisted that Baly go in with the

first number, as he alleges that he was not aware that Baly was not an employee of the Standard Oil Company. Baly entered with those men and then, in the presence of the armed guards and deputies, the sheriff ordered Baly to go to the window and get his money, and Baly refused. The sheriff then assaulted him, knocked him down and beat him viciously. He placed Baly under arrest and put him in the Bayonne jail.

"Frank Tannenbaum, an I. W. W. leader, who was at Bayonne in the interest of the strikers, was also arrested Monday. By Tuesday many of the strikers were willing to return to work and the sheriff, who by this time had 500 deputies and 140 uniformed police, stationed them at intervals along the route to the plant, and about 1,500 strikers returned to work. The company then began to discharge their guards, and by Wednesday morning practically the entire force was back at work and during the day all of the armed guards had left for New York, with the exception of 100 at the plant of Tidewater, whom Sheriff Kinkead had arrested on the charge of inciting to riot. These men were all given a hearing before Police Recorder Kain, of Bayonne. All but ten of them were discharged. These men are out on a \$1,000 bail each."

* * * * *

"Two days after the men had returned to work the Standard Oil Company announced increases in the wages of its common laborers and proportionate increases for other groups.

WHAT YOU HAVE TO SELL?

By MARY E. MARCY

EVERY workingman and every working woman has something to sell. And most of us have only this *one* thing to take to market—we useful men and women.

We sell the most important thing in the world, our strength, our brains, our laboring power. And we sell it to the highest bidder, to the company that will pay us the highest price for it, just as the farmers sell their hogs or their wheat at the best figure these will bring, and like the manufacturers sell the products made by *us*, in *their* mills, at the highest possible price.

We live to-day under a system of society where nearly everything is bought and sold. In Russia a czar, in Germany a kaiser, in England a king and in France a president are supposed to be the heads of the various governments; but after you put aside the gilded trappings that do not count, you

will find in every "civilized" country in the world, that the business of the lives of nearly everybody is buying and selling something.

Now there is a great difference in these buyers and sellers; some men own factories, vast steel mills, priceless mines or far-flung railroads. These men buy the strength or the laboring power of the workers and sell the commodities which these workers produce.

From you and me and other workingmen and women they buy the one commodity we have to sell, the one commodity that houses, clothes and feeds the whole world; they buy our strength, our brains, our laboring power. And they buy it as they buy coal, or electric power, lumber or steam power—at the lowest price (or wage) they can get.

Nobody will deny that every house was

built by our strength, that we have made every coat and dress, every pair of shoes in the world, or that we have produced the foods that feed all mankind. Nobody can deny that the railroads have been built by your labor, that your hands and brains run the trains and haul and transport food from one end of the earth to another to feed the peoples of the nations. But because some capitalists *own* the railroads, the lands, the factories, mines and mills we have built and we operate, we are forced to sell our one commodity, our strength, in order to earn money to live.

And so we bring our hands or our brains to market at the factory gate, or the mine gate, or the railroad shop like a truck farmer taking his celery or his potatoes to market.

We go to the place where we can sell our labor power at the highest wage while the employers hire men, or buy labor power on the cheapest market. When they can secure foreign labor at a lower price, or where our work can be performed by children, they hire the foreigners or the children because they can buy their labor power at a lower wage.

Now every intelligent worker wants to abolish the wages system. We are tired of selling our strength day by day at a miserable wage like men rent out teams of mules. We want to stop being commodities sold piecemeal. We want to be men and women.

And in order to be free and independent men and women we must be free to work and to own the things we have made, or to exchange the things we have made at their value.

But we cannot be free to work, nor be free to work for ourselves by receiving the things we produce or the value of the things we produce, so long as the mills, mines, factories, railroads, and shops are owned and controlled by a few private individuals. For the individual employer or the corporation will buy the strength of workingmen only when they can appropriate all the great and wonderful, the beautiful and useful things the workers make. And this is how the employers of labor grow rich. They pay us the lowest possible price for our strength and they *keep* the things we produce.

They pay us five dollars a day when we produce commodities valued at fifteen,

twenty or twenty-five dollars a day. And the manufacturing capitalist divides this surplus among the wholesale and the retail men, the landlords, the bankers, the lawyers and advertisers and a host of other parasites, who do no useful toil.

We want to abolish the wages system because we want the working class to receive the full value of the things it produces.

In the meantime while we still have to sell our strength for a wage, we want to get the most we can for it. The employing, or owning class, cannot say what wages we shall receive, nor can an individual workingman determine what wages he shall be paid. When the boss has more jobs than he has men, he will pay a higher wage. But he will never pay you in wages the value of the things you produce because that would leave no profits for those who do not work who own the factory or mine or mill.

But there are usually more men who need work than there are jobs and it is because there are so many men after the same job that the employers can hire us at indecent wages.

The best way to raise wages is to put the unemployed to work and the best way to put the unemployed to work is to make *two jobs out of one*, that is, to shorten the hours of labor and put extra men to work. Every time you shorten the hours of labor, you put thousands of men to work. Then the bosses have fewer men applying for jobs and you can force him to pay higher wages.

There can never be lasting peace between the employing, or owning class, and the working class because the owning, non-working class is always trying to buy our labor power at a lower wage in order to increase its own unearned profits. We workers are always trying to get shorter hours and higher pay for our laboring power—which means lower dividends for the capitalist class.

The wage conditions in this country and in every other modern industrial country, are going to grow worse if you do not make them better. You cannot make them better by acting alone. If you go to the boss and demand higher wages, he can simply throw you out of a job and put another man in your place. The day when one worker alone could force his boss to

pay a higher price for his labor power is past. To-day the only way we can beat the employers is by uniting with other workers—and the more workers we organize with, the larger our organization, the stronger will we be.

If *all* the railroad workers in this country went on strike they would have the whole nation at the verge of famine and howling for mercy within three days. If *all* the miners went on strike at the same time during cold weather, they would have Congress and the United States Senate and the president of these United States on their knees within a week.

If every workingman and woman folded his arms and her arms for a few days, not one single wheel in the whole world would turn; water works would shut down, street cars, trains of food would cease to run, telegraph and telephones would become silent. The world would soon be without heat, and light, without food and clothing.

Let one working man fold his arms and cease to labor and the world moves on about him; but let a hundred thousand railway men fold their arms, or ten thousand telegraph operators fold their arms and see what would happen!

And so we workers must unite with all the other workers in the industry where we are employed in order to shorten the hours of labor and to raise wages and to gain more and ever more control of working conditions in the shop or mill and mine.

We can help our class in its daily struggle to gain more of the things it has produced and of which it has long been robbed by the employing class, by working for an ever more inclusive unionism, until at last we can organize the whole working class in a struggle for the control of the

means of production and distribution, that is, for the control of the mines, mills, factories, the farms and the railroads, etc.

Every month we see the employers installing more modern machinery that displaces working men or women. The big glass manufacturers are putting in automatic glass-blowing machines; the railroad companies are using bigger and more powerful engines that pull from four to five times the loads they used to haul. One train crew now does the work that formerly required three or four crews.

And the men thrown out of employment by these newer and heavier engines, or by the automatic processes are just as capable, as industrious, as intelligent as those who are retained. But modern production means ever more and more labor-displacing machinery. Wages are bound to fall and hours are bound to remain what they are, unless we put up a fight.

Now we have fought the men who were out of work in the past. We have turned our backs on the fellows without jobs and these out-of-works have gone around to the superintendent's office and offered to sell their labor power at a lower wage and have taken our jobs.

We have to stop fighting the working class and join with all the workers of the world against the owners of the means of production. Then we can help the whole working class today and can at last grow strong enough, through organization and education and experience, to put the workers of the world in control of the factories, the railroads, the farms and mills, and the workers, themselves, shall receive the value of the things they produce.

All things are possible to us through industrial organization. Agitate! Organize! And fight!

"We have, according to the income tax returns, 44 families, with incomes of \$1,000,000 or more, whose members perform little or no useful service, but whose aggregate income, totaling at least fifty millions per year, are equivalent to the earnings of 100,000 wage earners, at the average rate of \$500 per year."

—From Press Abstract of Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations.



By FULLSTROKE

SAFETY FIRST. It is under cover of these magic words that the modern railroad manager, can and does, pull off any stunt in the interest of dividends, utterly regardless of any reference to safety.

The "safety first" movement was born at the time when it dawned upon railroad profit seekers, that by throwing safety into the scrap pile profits could be made to grow ever more high, even after deducting the occasional expense occasioned by the inevitable wrecks. Then, of course, there was the claim agent and lawyer always ready to reduce even these claims to the lowest limit. "Safety first" became a wonderful asset and has been used to the very limit as a cloak, and it must be said with success.

Hanging beside every round house register is a small painted tin box containing blank "safety first" cards. Any employee on noticing a defective spot anywhere along the line, is supposed to report it on one of these blanks. Once a month a "safety first" committee, composed of lesser R. R. officials, meets and goes over these cards. Every card is considered, that is, every card that gets before this committee. If some practice of the railroad that is very profitable, or that would require some expense to remedy, should be reported on one of these cards, of course it is side-tracked and the committee never has a chance to consider it.

It was in 1898 that one of the American railroads, by using a locomotive with 200,000 pounds of driving wheels, loading the engine to the very limit of its pulling capacity, ran the train revenue up

to \$568.00 per hundred miles. Such an engine was about double the capacity for hauling, of average freight service of the time, and this feat of labor displacement opened the eyes of railroad managers to the possibility of hauling the entire equipment over the road in one train. The reduction in number of train hands, of course, was in inverse ratio to the train mile revenue. Immediately the weight of the locomotive began to mount faster than ever before. From the modest 200,000 pounds of the drivers, it went up rapidly to 250,000 and is now approaching the 300,000 pound mark for just the ordinary hog type of engine.

Special types for mountain service are far in excess of even this weight. Then the introduction of superheated steam added another 15 per cent to the power for any given weight on driving wheels. The number of cars hauled in a single train went from 40 to 125 and even more, while the tonnage went like a sky rocket to five, six and as high as eight thousand tons. All these things occurred in the short time of half a decade with the process still on the ascent.

Now right here was introduced the greatest menace to railroad safety that has yet appeared in train operation. A train of 125 freight cars is almost exactly one mile in length, and the tonnage of such a train will average between 5,000 and 6,000 tons. The stored-up energy of such a train traveling at an ordinary freight train speed is enough to raise a first class battleship out of the water. A large portion of these mile long caravans of junk are still carried on cast iron wheels, which are no-

torious for being unreliable. In fact there is not a single day in cold weather but many of these cast iron wheels go to pieces, right out on the road, in both slow and fast freight service, as though they were made of cheese. Brake beams are hung in any off hand manner that can be devised, the only specification ever considered being the lowest possible first cost. In order that this mile of cars shall be the standard, on the roads with considerable grade, two and even three engines are regularly used, the pulling power of which exceeds the strength of drawbars. This results in frequent pulling of the drawbars and rigging while the train is at full speed, dumping about a ton of iron under the moving cars. Also it may be remembered that this is only a part of a long list of common events that may at any moment cause a derailment anywhere along the mile or more of tonnage.

It is not always on level land nor in bright daylight when these trains are moving. Over the longest bridges spanning the resistless flood, through the hardest storm and darkest night, these trains followed one after another. Nor are the long freights the only trains on the road.

At the same time on the two, three and four track systems are traveling hundreds of passenger trains loaded with thousands of passengers, going both in the same and opposite directions. This passenger train also has doubled in weight, length and capacity for carrying passengers. It is to the passenger that the greatest menace comes from freight trains operated in long units. So imminent and always present is this danger, and so disastrous when it comes, that simply to look at a fast passenger train passing over one of these travelling miles of scrap is enough to make one hold his breath. For it is when, from any cause, a derailment occurs in the mile long freight train that the standing menace to all travel becomes apparent.

When a derailment comes at the forward half of the train the many thousand tons in the line behind keep right on coming. One loaded car piles on top of another and even this does not stop the oncoming tidal wave of destruction. Up and up they go with now and then some going sideways until a veritable pyramid of wreckage is the result. Two hundred feet wide and eight to ten cars high stands this pyramid when the caravan slackens



DIVIDENDS FIRST, ROTTEN EQUIPMENT SECOND, "SAFETY FIRST" A POOR THIRD.

up. All tracks are instantly blocked without stopping the oncoming cars from crashing and tumbling in every direction. Loaded coal cars, built of the latest design are telescoped up like an accordion. Loaded box cars of the strongest type are so thoroughly demolished that their numbers can only be found in the conductor's book or yard records. Rails are broken and bent in fantastic shapes as though powerful forges and hammers had been at work for weeks and new ties are literally ground up into pulp in the dirt.

this great public, it rapidly fills to the exclusion of the former vacuum; a sort of cheap filler to a scab cigar, as it were.

What is going to be the result when one of these wreck start changing the aspect of the landscape right on the next track to a faster passenger train making schedule time. In the short time these long trains have been operated there have been many close calls. Times almost without number, such wrecks have happened either just ahead or just after the passing of the fastest passenger trains. The time



HUMAN LIFE AND LABOR ARE CHEAP. RAILROADS ARE RUN FOR DIVIDENDS.
"SAFETY FIRST" IS GOOD ADVERTISING BUNK TO HAND OUT TO THE
EMPLOYEES AND A GULLIBLE PUBLIC.

All this destruction of cars and engines is of small account. The workers will in the shortest possible time, have all this damage repaired. But so great is the profit from this method of handling traffic, that is, so great is the labor displacement, that the only thing the management does is to place a new flood of "SAFETY FIRST" signs. After each disaster of this kind up go the signs, on every telegraph pole, on every board of the fence and is a new decorative design on the railroad advertising matter. This is simply poured into the public ear and there being nothing else in the head of

is ever drawing nearer when one of them is going to get caught. Not only get caught, but get buried out of sight in the wreckage. Be it remembered, there is no suspension of traffic when legislators and even the President of the United States are travelling. It is not pleasant to forecast so appalling a thing as this must be when it comes. And there is not an experienced railroad man who is not continually speaking of it. They are powerless to prevent it now, but they know what is coming. They know it menaces their lives every moment they are at work.

How does the slogan "SAFETY

FIRST" effect train operation of a nature that may bury an entire passenger train under wreckage at any moment? Is that the question you want answered? Well, it has no effect that you would notice. Should a nail be found sticking out from a clapboard ten feet up from the ground, or a piece of glass be found lying somewhere in the sun, the most neglectful railroad company will go after it with a brass band if reported on a "safety first" card. But after one of these wrecks, a two horse load of cards sent in, would not even cause a ripple. Plans for real safety would never be placed before the "safety first" committee.

When the inevitable does come let it be remembered that the cry of "safety first" came at the time this greatest menace to safety became a regular railroad practice. It should have read, "DIVIDENDS FIRST," and have been so inscribed on the banner of every railroad in the land. It is the greatest asset in the gentle art of profit in taking chances. The basic conditions that brought it into being are now in full swing. The remedy will be applied when those who spend their lives running the railroads can say how these should be run. Then and then only will the railroad workers have safe working conditions and railroad passengers a chance to travel in safety.

Should the Workers be Organized by Industries?

IN THIS short article I shall endeavor to prove "That the time has arrived when all workers in an industry should be members of the organization pertaining to that industry."

I believe that all workers in or about mines should be members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain; that all workers on or about railways should be members of the National Union of Railwaymen. And this, of course, is not to apply only to miners and railwaymen, but to the workers in all industries. One industry, one organization.

When dealing with the problem of organization this seems to be eminently desirable, reasonable, and practicable. Today we have too many unions and too little unity. As a member of the Miners' Federation, I hope I shall be excused if I deal mainly with the organization of men employed in or about mines. What is known as the M. F. G. B. is numerically one of the largest organizations of a single industry in the world. I believe its membership is well over 600,000. Large and powerful as it undoubtedly is, it is not so powerful as it might be if all the workers employed in or about mines were members of the same organization. The number so employed is over 1,000,000. In this number officials are included. At this stage I do not think it is desirable that officials should be members; when the mines are nationalized, or controlled and managed by the workers, the

official will no longer be the paid agent of the capitalist, and will fall naturally into line with the workers in the industry. Until then the officials should be outside the organization. But this is only a detail and not of primary importance. Eliminating the officials, there are probably from 35 to 40 per cent of the workers employed in or about mines who are not members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. This is a formidable number, the inclusion of which would add materially to the power and prestige of the federation, while the workers would stand to gain more by becoming members.

These outsiders are mainly employed on the surface, and are in various organizations, such as the General Laborers' Union, the Surface Craftsmen's Association, the Gas Workers' Union, the Navvies' Union, the Winding Enginemen's Association, etc. When trouble arises owing to disputes in these unions, sometimes thousands of miners have to stand by these men and remain idle until the dispute is settled, or the men would be defeated if the miners continued working. On the other hand, the miners fight for some great principle and win it, and the men outside the Federation at once participate in the benefits without fighting or paying for them. In my own district we had a notable case where 2,500 miners were idle nine weeks for the purpose of obtaining weekly payment of wages. At the end of the strike the men won; wages

were paid weekly, and nearly 300 men who were members of other unions received the weekly wage benefit though they were working while the miners were on strike—virtually blacklegging the miners. Later, the Miners' Federation got an amendment inserted in a Mines Bill before Parliament, making it compulsory to pay wages weekly where the men decided by ballot vote in favor of that arrangement. This has now become law, and furnishes one more proof that these subsidiary unions are largely parasitical and live on the vitality of the larger body.

These craft unions have not only been detrimental to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, but they have been the chief obstacle to the welfare of their own members. While the miners have been able to secure a Minimum Wage Act, raising the wages of the lowest paid workmen as much as a shilling per day, many of these skilled craftsmen are still on very low wages and are outside the pale of the Minimum Wage Act, and the Miners' Eight Hours Act. No more striking evidence of ineffectuality can be found than this line of demarcation drawn by the legislator between members of one strong industrial union and members of a number of weak unions. It is well known how these unions retain their members, viz., by taking a lower contribution and giving benefits largely of a friendly society or burial society character. As trade unions they are practically helpless; at least that is my experience of them.

I have dealt rather lengthily with the material benefit side of the question, because it is the one string largely harped upon by the propagandists of these subsidiary unions. From the standpoint of organization there is absolutely no case for them. If unity means anything, it means "One and Indivisible," as the aim and end to be attained in organizing the workers. This is certainly the purport of the following

resolution passed at the M. F. G. B. Annual Conference at Southport in 1911, carried by an overwhelming majority: "We consider that all workmen employed in and about collieries should belong to the same organization." Never was there greater need for closing up the ranks of the workers than now, when they are attacked on all sides by vested interests and huge combines of capital; and betrayed by self-seeking leaders who have thrown over the principles and constitution of the Labor Party rather than refuse office in a capitalistic class-ridden government. One consolation the workers have: No one is able to bribe *them*. Whoever may sell the pass to the enemy it will not be sold by the workers themselves. Organized in their millions in their industries, no government, no capitalists, are rich enough to bribe them.

What has been written here about the miners applies with equal force to the railwaymen, the transport workers, the sailors and every other industry. Let us organize our industrial workers to a man; and *then* federate our organizations, and prepare for the great work of taking over the industries, controlling and working them, for the common good of all. This is the only way the wage system will be abolished. Through the power of organization the worker is invincible; strange as it may seem, the workers are the only class that have not realized that. The C. L. C. will help them to understand.

The old type of labor leader, with his collective bargaining ideals, is being superseded, as quickly as the undertaker will allow, by a new mind, instructed in the principles of economics, and therefore with some scientific reason for his sure and certain belief that "there is no wealth but life," and that the future of the world belongs not to the idle rich, but to labor.—GEORGE BARKER (Miners' Agent, Abertillery, Mon.), in the *Plebs Magazine*.



AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

V. Coming Events

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE present war settled conclusively one greatly disputed proposition—that our consciousness and reason influence the course of social events only to an infinitesimal degree. And our will is of even less consequence.

What the Socialist movement reasoned and willed is one thing. What it actually accomplished—another.

The Socialist movement set out with the object of combatting the present state of society and of finally overthrowing it. It has chosen political action as its movement. It has become a great political party.

How?

By a process of adaptation to existing conditions. It could not otherwise. No great political party could be organized without adaptation to conditions as they are.

The great fundamental and fatal error of the Socialist movement was in the idea cultivated in it by its writers and spokesmen that adaptation to existing conditions meant reconciliation to them.

It led the Socialist movement to abandon its original object; to support what it set out to combat; to preserve what it set out to overthrow.

Adaptation is the law of life. Everywhere we may observe how nature overcomes obstacles, preserves species and creates new varieties by adaptation. Whenever necessity demands it, nature will, by adaptation, make eyes or pincers out of feelers, legs out of fins, wings out of legs or vice versa. But nature will not become reconciled to obstacles and abandon the effort of overcoming them.

Adaptation is the shortest way to the object and conserves matter and energy.

The Socialists are wont to look down upon the labor unions as falling short of the Socialist movement in their social aims and ideals.

The labor union movement is also proceeding by way of adaptation, but it nev-

er becomes reconciled to obstacles which it set out to overcome; it will not support what its purpose was to combat, it will not preserve what it aimed to overthrow.

Its aim was and is shorter work day, higher wages and better working conditions.

And by no process of hocus pocus did the labor union movement talk itself into the belief that longer hours, lower wages, worse working conditions or any other evils which it set out to remove, were in the interest of the working class, and were to be supported instead of combatted; to be preserved instead of abolished.

And this is exactly what happened with the Socialist movement of Germany. Never was a movement launched with a more comprehensive program of political and industrial change.

Politically, yunkerdom, kaiserdom and militarism were to be abolished and a thoroughly democratic state established.

Industrially, capitalism was to be expropriated and a co-operative commonwealth inaugurated.

Internationally, a solidarity of the working class of the world was proclaimed having for its mission the abolishing of boundaries and the ushering in of the true brotherhood of men.

In practice, the Socialist movement of Germany became rapidly reconciled to things as they are and made its peace with the world of today. It became reconciled to yunkerdom, kaiserdom and militarism. And by opposing every efficient means of combatting them, it came to support and preserve these institutions of oppression.

It has put the stigma of ridicule on the idea that men can work practically for the abolition of capitalism and the establishing of Socialism. These great aims have become in the mouths of "practicals" a term of sarcasm, a by-word.

In recognizing the international solidar-

ity of labor, it no more than trailed in the footsteps of the labor union movement. Its own nobler aim of the brotherhood of men, it abandoned almost at the post, and permitted it to become a word of derision.

Toward the east the German Socialists assumed the attitude of racial superiority. A threatened invasion by the Russians would justify the German Socialists to take up arms. But they conceded no such right to the Russian Socialists against a German invasion. This is an inference which becomes obvious from the immense military preparedness of the Germans.

This preparedness could not be achieved without not alone the physical co-operation of the German Socialists, but of their moral indorsement as well.

In the German munition factories the majority of the workingmen are Socialists. The Socialists were nobody's fools. They knew the degree of military preparedness of Germany. Did they disclose it at the International Socialist Congresses? Not they. But with that knowledge, they were encouraging the Socialists of France and Russia to fight for restricting armaments.

To the west, the German Socialists were political and industrial imperialists. Oh, yes. They are against annexation. That is some of them. But even the German government recognizes that this is said so as to save one's face. What shall we think of one who repeats, and repeats and repeats one thing and when the first occasion arises does just the opposite?

The German Socialists will probably say that they are against annexation, as they said they were against war, while in hundreds of thousands they will be terrorizing the population of Belgium and France into submission and annexation.

Words should count with us only when, occasion arising for deeds, such deeds should be true to the words.

The horror with which the German Socialists viewed any political action that might result in bloodshed is notorious. In contrast to that consider the millions of lives which the German Socialists are willingly sacrificing for the fatherland.

How futile and impotent is German Socialism!

How vital and virile is German patriotism!

The German Socialist movement dominated the Second International. The German Socialist movement claimed and was given the credit for the character of the Socialist movement the world over.

The German Socialist movement should not now shirk the blame for the failure of the Socialist movement in this great hour of human history.

After the war an attempt will be made to reorganize the International with the German domination unimpaired. In fact the attempt has been already begun. The cry will be—"Preserve the International! Preserve Unity!"

Now, from all present indications, it is evident that after the war the German Social Democratic party will be even less Socialist than it was before the war.

Certainly there are divisions and disagreements in the Socialist movement of Germany. There is Liebknecht, the first protestant against the portrayal of Socialism by the Socialist party of Germany, now having with him Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and many others, standing at the extreme left. They demand war against war, armaments and militarism.

There are Haase, Kautsky and Bernstein with hundreds of other prominent Socialists who occupy the middle of the road, demand cessation of the war now that the fatherland is safe and are opposed to annexation and indemnities. In the party government, they are in small minority, but their following is numerous.

The dominating majority of patriots, chauvinists and non-Socialists are led by Scheideman, Heine and Sudekum. They declared a "burgfrieden"—suspension of the class struggle—and a policy of "durchhalten"—to hold out with the government to the extreme. They are just now presumably against annexation of foreign territory, but will no doubt permit themselves to be coaxed to support it, should the occasion arise.

It is to this third group of disguised chauvinists that the domination of the International will be entrusted, should it again fall into German hands.

Should this happen, we do not see how we could keep Kaiser Wilhelm, Hindenburg and Roosevelt from joining the International.

The issue of the present war will determine the character of the new International-

al. A triumphant Germany will dominate the world, International included. In that event the International will become another agency for Germanizing the world. It is difficult to visualize the world under that aspect. The claim of German racial superiority will be accepted at its Berlin quotations by the rest of the world excepting in Asia and Russia.

For triumphant Germany would proceed to mobilize the forces of Europe and America for a struggle with Asia for world supremacy. Japan, in union with Russia, a union which is even now being negotiated, will marshal the legions of the orient. And as the conflict will be at its highest, there will be heard, rising above the thunders of the war, the reverberating sound of the Social Revolution.

Mars like unto Kronos devours his own children. The children of Mars, like the children of Kronos, will rise and slay their parent. The world's armed hosts will seize the military empires and crush them to the ground.

But a Germanized International will play no role on the side of Social Revolution. More than likely, led by Scheidmans and Heines, it will throw its might against the liberation of mankind.

The question arises—Will the German

proletariat permit itself to be misled? Well, the answer to this is—It has permitted so far.

The German working class has been bribed by the militarists with the promise of racial superiority, a vague phrase used as a euphemism for very concrete and material economic and political advantages. The German Socialists of the right have accepted the bribe of promised German prosperity to be wrested from the oppression and suffering of other races.

Such will be Germany and Germans Triumphant. But there is a long road and a hard road for the Germans to travel before they reach triumph.

But even in the event of a German defeat, no International, be it never so revolutionary and proletarian, will have the influence it should have without the German working class being well represented in the International. For if one thing is more obvious than any other, this thing is that the German proletariat is destined to play the first violin in the orchestra of the social revolution and that no great capitalist overthrow, no victory of Socialism, is possible without the co-operation, aye, leadership of German Socialism expurgated of the leadership of the Scheidmans and Heines and Sudekums.

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

All who are weary and heavy laden; all who suffer under injustice; all who suffer from the outrages of the existing bourgeois society; all who have in them the feeling of the worth of humanity, look to us, turn hopefully to us, as the only party that can bring rescue and deliverance. And if we, the opponents of this unjust world of violence, suddenly reach out the hand of brotherhood to it, conclude alliances with its representatives, invite our comrades to go hand in hand with the enemy whose misdeeds have driven the masses into our camp, what confusion must result in their minds! How can the masses longer believe on us? If the men of the clerical party, of the progressive party, and the other boodle parties are our comrades, wherefore then the struggle against capitalist society, whose representatives and champions all of these are? What reason have we, then, for existence? It must be that for the hundreds and thousands, for the millions that have sought salvation under our banner, it was all a colossal mistake for them to come to us. If we are not different from the others, then we are not the right ones—the Saviour is yet to come; and the Social Democracy was a false Messiah, no better than the other false ones!—WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

BILLY SUNDAY

By CARL SANDBURG

YOU come along—tearing your shirt—yelling about Jesus.
I want to know what the hell you know about Jesus?

Jesus had a way of talking soft, and everybody except a few bankers and higher-ups among the con men of Jerusalem liked to have this Jesus around because he never made any fake passes, and everything he said went and he helped the sick and gave the people hope.

You come along squirting words at us, shaking your fist and calling us all dam fools—so fierce the froth of your own spit slobbers over your lips—always blabbering we're all going to hell straight off and you know all about it.

I've read Jesus' words. I know what he said. You don't throw any scare into me. I've got your number. I know how much you know about Jesus.

He never came near clean people or dirty people but they felt cleaner because he came along. It was your crowd of bankers and business men and lawyers that hired the sluggers and murderers who put Jesus out of the running.

I say it was the same bunch that's backing you that nailed the nails into the hands of this Jesus of Nazareth. He had lined up against him the same crooks and strong-arm men now lined up with you paying your way.

This Jesus guy was good to look at, smelled good, listened good. He threw out something fresh and beautiful from the skin of his body and the touch of his hands wherever he passed along.

You, Billy Sunday, put a smut on every human blossom that comes in reach of your rotten breath belching about hell-fire and hiccuping about this man who lived a clean life in Galilee.

When are you going to quit making the carpenters build emergency hospitals for women and girls driven crazy with wrecked nerves from your goddam gibberish about Jesus? I put it to you again: What the hell do you know about Jesus?

Go ahead and bust all the chairs you want to. Smash a wagon load of furniture at every performance. Turn sixty somersaults and stand on your nutty head. If it wasn't for the way you scare the women and kids, I'd feel sorry for you and pass the hat.

I like to watch a good four-flusher work, but not when he starts people puking and calling for the doctor.

I like a man that's got guts and can pull off a great, original performance; but you—hell, you're only a bughouse peddler of second-hand gospel—you're only shoving out a phoney imitation of the goods this Jesus guy told us ought to be free as air and sunlight.

Sometimes I wonder what sort of pups born from mongrel bitches there are in the world less heroic, less typic of historic greatness than you.

You tell people living in shanties Jesus is going to fix it up all right with them by giving them mansions in the skies after they're dead and the worms have eaten 'em.

You tell \$6 a week department store girls all they need is Jesus; you take a steel trust wop, dead without having lived, gray and shrunken at forty years of age, and you tell him to look at Jesus on the cross and he'll be all right.

You tell poor people they don't need any more money on pay day, and even if it's fierce to be out of a job, Jesus'll fix that all right, all right—all they gotta do is take Jesus the way you say.

I'm telling you this Jesus guy wouldn't stand for the stuff you're handing out. Jesus played it different. The bankers and corporation lawyers of Jerusalem got their sluggers and murderers to go after Jesus just because Jesus wouldn't play their game. He didn't sit in with the big thieves.

I don't want a lot of gab from a bunkshooter in my religion.

I won't take my religion from a man who never works except with his mouth and never cherishes a memory except the face of the woman on the American silver dollar.

I ask you to come through and show me where you're pouring out the blood of your life.

I've been out to this suburb of Jerusalem they call Golgotha, where they nailed Him, and I know if the story is straight it was real blood ran from his hands and the nail-holes, and it was real blood spurted out where the spear of the Roman soldier rammed in between the ribs of this Jesus of Nazareth.

GUILD SOCIALISM

By LAURENCE WELSH

IT IS a newspaper platitude that the English nation has learnt more in nine months of war than it would learn in as many normal years. Amongst the more salutary of these compulsory lessons may be counted that which the labouring classes may, if they have had their eyes open, have learnt with regard to the State control of industry. It has been shown more clearly than was possible by any theoretical demonstration that such control is not a suitable permanent feature in national life, and, in itself, utterly fails to secure to the individual worker increased personal liberty or dignity of life.

The most remarkable instance of State control of industry (as distinct from national ownership of industrial capital) so far brought about by the war is undoubtedly the Dockers' Battalion. This is a military battalion formed at Liverpool, consisting of dock labourers, who work under military conditions and are thus prevented from causing industrial "trouble." They are subject to compulsory arbitration in the event of there arising any dispute as to conditions of employment. Their foremen are officials of the union (the National Union of Dock Labourers), and every member of the battalion must, by the conditions of his employment, be a member of the Union. The control of the Government is absolute and ultimate, and the fact that the foremen are officials of the union has little more than a sentimental importance.

The question of increasing the amount of "forced" labour, and, indeed, of conscribing every labourer for work on Government contracts, has been brought to the front by the introduction of the Munitions Bill. The tone of the discussion of this question now being carried on in the Press affords an interesting comment on the ideals of Collectivists. The dominant idea of those advocating that labour for munition work should be compulsory and

be carried out under conditions of martial law is, of course, one of military efficiency (with, perhaps, a spice of that class hatred of the workers of which is so prominent a feature of middle and upper class psychology). The interests and well-being of the workers receive no consideration; the plea is for the re-institution of chattel slavery, modified to suit modern moral ideas.

These few facts are but up-to-date examples of the objections to collectivism put forward during the past seven or eight years by a group of writers in the *New Age*, probably the most brilliant, and certainly the most aggressive independent journal in London. These writers, known as National Guildsmen or Guild Socialists, have always claimed to be Socialists, and to have remained true to the fundamental ideals of Socialism which have been departed from by Collectivists. Collectivism, or State Socialism, in its anxiety to be practical and business-like, has concentrated almost exclusively on national efficiency and the interests of the community considered as a body of consumers of labour and services, to the neglect of its concerns in the equally important aspect of a collection of producers.

As it were in protest against this neglect of the producers, there arose, largely as a spontaneous growth among the workers, the theory of Syndicalism, which had one clear and basic character in its demand for the control of industry in each of its branches by the workers engaged in those branches. In other words, while Collectivism emphasizes the needs and interests of consumers, Syndicalism draws attention and attaches paramount importance to the claims of producers. Collectivism is essentially bureaucratic. According to its conceptions industry is to be organized by Government officials, and industrial workers will be treated according to the standard of humanity prevalent among the governing classes at any given time.

Syndicalism is democratic, even anarchistic, for its government is to be carried on by the mass meeting, with a minimum of representative institutions.

This description of the main aims and essential character of the two social theories which have exercised most influence in recent years is admittedly a mere outline, and neglects numerous minor points of resemblance, dwelling mainly on the antagonism between the two theories. In spite, however, of these necessary qualifications, it is true to say that, in the main, Syndicalism and Collectivism are fundamentally opposed doctrines, standing respectively for the fights of producers and of consumers.

In the theories of the National Guildsman it is claimed that these opposing interests find their reconciliation. A brief statement of the ideal organization of society as conceived by these writers will enable the force of their claim to appear, and to visualize the Guild society, it may be well to consider the process of its evolution from the existing social organism. The unit or norm of industrial life is to be the Trade Union—highly developed, educated, and comprising, not merely the manual workers in any particular industry, but the clerks, the brain workers, and even the highest directors of industry.

At present in the United States and in England the Trade Union movement is weakened by its internal dissensions, its lack of solidarity, and of a clear and lofty common ideal. It is by these defects, too, that it is weakened for the purpose of the realization of the Guild ideal. The first step on the road to Guild Socialism is that the workers should organize in Unions corresponding, in the main, to the divisions of industry; the second, but one which must be taken simultaneously with the other, is that every Union should become "blackleg proof" in the widest sense, that is, that it should embrace all workers of every class working in its particular industry. It is clear that a Union which has by educational and propaganda work reached such a high stage of corporate intelligence and development would necessarily embody a sensitive and efficient internal organization, and would represent a high state of social conscience. Such a Union, the Guildsmen contend, would be fitted to assume the entire con-

trol of its industry, and the whole industrial system of England might well be comprised within 15 or 20 such Unions or Guilds.

Each Guild would be granted a Charter by Parliament conferring on it the exclusive right to carry on its particular industry—a concession that would be morally justifiable because, *ex hypothesi*, every worker is included in his or her own Guild organization. The internal structure of the several Guilds would no doubt vary from Guild to Guild. One thing may, however, be postulated; that an extremely democratic form of government would exist throughout the whole industry. Every Guild officer, from a shop foreman to the general manager, would be elected by those over whom he was to exercise authority. The whole of the affairs of a Guild would be controlled pretty closely by the members, whose power to decide the conditions of their work would thus be insured.

The value of the corporate spirit that would undoubtedly grow up in such a body can scarcely be too much emphasized. The difference between the output of a worker making shells for the present war (a) voluntarily (b) under compulsion, has been shown to be that between 24 and 7. It may be confidently anticipated that a similar difference would exist between the work of a free labourer in a Guild of which he was a fully enfranchised member and of one driven by economic need to labour under the vile conditions of modern Capitalism.

The existing wage system is bitterly attacked by Guildsmen. Wages represent the competitive price of labour, and it is repugnant to high ethical views that human labour should be bought and sold. The wage system reduces human effort with all its variety and its divine origin—to the level of an inanimate commodity. An employer of labor no doubt deals in goods of some kind, but it is necessary for him also to deal in human souls. For what is a man's labour but one of the manifestations of his soul?

These ethical considerations have led the Guild writers to regard the existence of wavery as the fundamental defect in modern society from a spiritual standpoint, just as it undoubtedly is its economic basis. They go further on this

point. They claim that State Socialism would involve the perpetuation of the wage system. For the nationalization of land and capital presupposes compensation to the present owners, and compensation demands a national loan. The interest on this loan would be a first charge on the product of labour, and this fact, it is said, amounts to the maintenance of the wage system. If by the wage system is understood a state of Society in which payment to the owners of land and capital is a first charge on the produce of industry, State Socialism would probably perpetuate wagery. There is little likelihood, however, that a Collectivist Society would retain the competitive purchase of labour, so that the really undesirable characteristic of wagery would disappear under any Socialist state.

In a Guild Socialist state, at any rate, wagery would disappear, for a fundamental condition of membership of a Guild would be maintenance for life, whether employed or not. In this respect a Guild would resemble a modern army. Soldiers are maintained and paid throughout the period of their service. They are not suddenly engaged from the casual labour market when their labour is required for fighting. Their maintenance is a continuous charge on their employers.

One main reason why the democratization of modern political life tends in practice to be largely nullified is the great size of electoral units, and the complexity of political issues. These characteristics necessitate considerable devolution of function to officials and render difficult effective popular control of Governmental policy. This difficulty can to a large extent be overcome by the decentralization of political function, or, in other words, by reducing the size of geographical area constituting a political unit. In Guild Socialism there appears a further method of increasing popular control of governing bodies, and this is by the specialization of function in the national institutions. In the main each Guild would be autonomous, and the problems of its own government would be dealt with by its own members.

It is they who possess precisely that intimate acquaintance with the domestic questions of their Guild which would render possible the coexistence of a demo-

cratic form of government with a high state of efficiency. Thus the 'problems of modern industry' would be taken from the hands of the ordinary legislature and put into the hands of those most concerned in their solution. This fact has a two-fold significance. Firstly, such an arrangement would tend to secure efficient industrial management and industrial conditions acceptable to the mass of the people. Secondly, the national Government would be set free to concentrate attention on the large national issues of foreign and imperial policy which are naturally its special concern. It is widely felt that in modern democratic and industrial countries these concerns have received in recent years too little consideration.

Inter-guild relationships would necessarily be complex and it would doubtless be necessary to set up a super-guild authority to act as the final arbiter in cases of conflicting interests, and generally to regulate industrial affairs of national, as opposed to purely guild interest. This Guild Congress would seem to be the natural successor of a fusion of the present Federations of Trade Unions. This is a further illustration of the continuity of tradition which would be one of the characteristics of the realization of the Guild ideals. The units of industry are to evolve from the existing units of industrial organization; the chief industrial council would be developed from bodies already fulfilling a high function in the labor movement; and the internal structure of the Guilds would follow naturally from the present formation of Trade Unions. This respect for the existing state of industrial organization, which represents the collective will and intelligence of the labor movement, marks considerable practical wisdom in the guildsmen. They realize the necessity, in so conservative a country as England, of respecting the established fact that has evolved naturally and has stood the test of time.

Guild Socialism cannot arrive in a day. Nevertheless it embodies the chief tendencies that make themselves apparent in modern industrial politics and indicates the lines along which society is developing. Nationalization alone is no longer believed to be a panacea for labour's ills. Democratic control of industry is realized

to be as essential as democracy in politics. And though opinion has not yet crystallized on many details of the social ideal for which the National Guildsmen stand, it is becoming clearer every day that ultimate form of society will be some sort of partnership between the State and Trade Unions.

THE CRY OF THE UNDERLINGS

By Philip Green Wright

The masters stand at the head of things;
They are lords of work and pay;
And we must run till the set of sun,
Because the masters say;
For we, for we are the underlings,
And the lords of bread are they;
And we must eat though they screw and cheat,
And when they nod, obey.

Sometimes there is work for every one,
And sometimes, barred each gate;
And why it is so, the masters know,
We only wish and wait.
They know when the freights will begin to run,
And the factory whistles blow,
And the fires burn and the spindles turn:
These things the masters know.

We work and work at things we must,
We don't so greatly care,
By the rushing flume, at the roaring loom,
In the coal mine's killing air.
We fashion gems for a dole of crust,
And silks, with a rag for pay;
And the things we make, the masters take,
To make their women gay.

There is wit and grace and courtesy,
When the masters meet and dine,
And the lives of men are ticked off then,
Over the nuts and wine;
For before them they somehow seem to see
All that the future brings:
Our minds are dull as we mull and mull
Over these puzzling things.

We shape the clothes that the masters wear
With such easy air of right;
We mine the coals that warm their souls,
As we shiver at home tonight;
We build the yachts that the masters bear
With their graceful swallow wings:
For they are free; but we, but we,
Are only the underlings.

Our minds are dull, we mull and mull,
But we're waking, masters; ay,
We're waking now, and, with knotted brow,
We're wondering dimly, why!
Only wondering, slow and vast and dull,
Brutal to do and dare;
But if ever we shake ourselves awake,
Masters of bread, beware!



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TURNING MUGS ON LATHE.

THE POTTER AND HIS CLAY

By Arthur Ruskin

OF ALL the great industries in the world today, perhaps the one that has progressed least with the passing years, is potting. It is true, of course, that the demand and the output have increased wonderfully, but the modern machine and the automatic process seem to have made less headway here than in any other known branch of industry. This is perhaps due to the character of the raw materials.

While glass making has leaped from the old hand or blown method into a process where, from the mixing of the raw materials to the blowing and packing of glass bottles themselves, these commodities are practically untouched by the hand of man, pottery ware, though often partially cast in

moulds, is still "turned" by lathe by hand.

Perhaps there are more pottworks in the world today than plants for any other industry. Over one hundred thousand families in Japan have their own home kilns. There every member of the family is engaged in home potting and their products are sold so cheap as to compete with the most modern potteries abroad. Millions of dollars' worth of Japanese ware are shipped out annually.

Early methods of preparing clay for the potter's hand were, naturally, of the most primitive character. The crude material was simply thrown into the tank or pit and manipulated with a spade or paddle, then taken out in large chunks and cut through and through with a fine wire stretched be-

tween the two hands of the workman, the pebbles and other foreign substances being picked out as the work progressed.

In 1835 a patent was granted Adam Weber of Womelsdorf, Pa., for a contrivance for purifying potters' clay, consisting of a hollow metal or wooden cylinder with a wire sieve placed across the bottom through which the moist clay was forced by means of a block or piston worked by a lever. This simple apparatus is still employed in some of the potteries where coarse earthenware is made.

Today most of the clay used in potting is carefully washed before being shipped to the manufacturer and the flint and feldspar are finely ground at the quarry. These materials in due proportions are placed in tanks called "plungers" with the necessary amount of water and worked, tons at a charge, by machinery in a short space of time.

The mass is then sifted and forced through canvas bags held in what is termed a "press," the surplus moisture being expelled. An improved hydrostatic press, made by A. J. Boyce of E. Liverpool, Ohio, is now in use in many potteries with great success.

The potter's wheel used until only a few years ago was a clumsy affair. The potter sat on a framework bench behind the wheel while in front were piled lumps of clay to be manipulated. This contrivance was termed a "kick wheel." The workman pushed the wheel around with his feet.

The "throw wheel" was an improvement but required an extra hand to turn the wheel that in turn caused the potter's disk to revolve. And on this disk was the lump of clay worked by the potter. Small potteries use a treadle today.

"Jiggers" and "jollies" now facilitate the manufacture of circular and swelled vessels such as jugs, crocks, cuspidors, etc. A "jigger" is a machine carrying a revolving mould in which the clay is shaped by the "former" which is brought down into the mould and held there by a lever.

"A jolly" is a somewhat similar contrivance used principally in making plates, saucers and flatware. It consists of a revolving disk or wheel on which the mould is placed.

The lathe used by the potter is similar to the lathe used in wood turning. A wooden

block made of the proper size for the cup or other articles to be turned is screwed to the spindle of the lathe. These are the only important machines that have been added to the old time pottery industry. Other similar machinery has been invented but owing to the nature of the materials, never proved really practicable.

The model for any piece of ware, a jug, for instance, having been designed and finished, is taken in hand by the mould-maker who makes the mould from it that will part in the middle. This is called the "block mould" and is carefully preserved. From this a "case" is made, which is a replica in plaster of the model. From this "case" as many working moulds as may be required can be made. Plaster of paris moulds are used in the manufacture of all wares except in such as are "thrown."

When a vessel is made by hand on the potter's wheel the process is called "throwing." This is the oldest method of pottery making employed by civilized man and is still in use in many potteries. The vessels are formed by hand, rubbed smooth with a wet sponge and a piece of leather and set apart to dry.

When the ware is sufficiently dried it is placed on the spindle blocks of the lathe and the turner with a thin tool shaves the vessel to the proper thickness, then, reversing the lathe, burnishes it until the surface is even and smooth.



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EXPERT WORKMEN SHAPING OBJECTS ON THE
POTTER'S WHEEL, KIOTO, JAPAN.

In making plates and saucers and flat ware, the workman throws the "bat" of clay upon the mould which forms the face of the piece. This is placed on the revolving "jigger" and the back is shaped by a tool which is pressed upon it. The piece is then set aside to dry, after which it is taken from the mould, the edges trimmed and it is ready for firing.

In making hollow pieces such as pitchers, covered dishes and pieces of similar shape, the clay is carefully pressed into the mould, made in two parts which are then brought together. The interior is smoothed and the seams of the mold are covered with a strip of glaze which is worked on smoothly and the mould is set aside until the plaster has absorbed sufficient moisture to allow the pieces to be safely removed. The handles, knobs and spouts which have been made in other moulds are then fitted to the ware and fastened by slips and then the vessel is smoothed and finished and sent to the "green room" to dry.

Thin wares are sometimes made by the casting process, but this has not proven very successful in practical pottworks.

When the biscuit ware is ready to be glazed, the "dipper" immerses it in a tub filled with the glaze which is of the consistency of cream. The ware is then carried to the glost kiln for the second firing.

DECORATION

Pottery and porcelain are decorated either *over* the glaze or *under* the glaze. In over-glaze decoration vitrified colors (that is, colors that will become as glass), are applied to the glazed surfaces of the finished ware and fixed in the enameling kiln. In under-glaze decoration the colors are placed on the ware either in the green or unfired state or on the biscuit, but it is glazed.

Decorations may also be hand painted or printed. The printing process is used extensively, the designs being engraved on copper plates and transferred to the surface of the ware. Mineral colors which have been carefully mixed are used to print



POTTERY WORK IN AMERICA.

the design on linen tissue paper which is then laid upon the ware and rubbed with a piece of soft flannel until it adheres evenly and firmly. In a few hours the paper is plucked from the ware and the printed design is then touched up with color by hand and gold lines are frequently applied.

The early Virginia emigrants made coarse earthenware vessels for culinary and other purposes. Previous to 1649 there were several small pottworks in America which did a thriving business. The Dutch settlers in New York made a ware that almost rivalled Delft.

Some one in England in writing of America in 1688 said, "the potters get sixteen pence for an earthenware pot which may be bought for four pence in England." About this time the first white ware was made in this country and by 1848 English potters were producing ware for this country from clay shipped from America over to them.

How long ago the first American Indian and before him, his ancestors, first learned to bake clay into crude vessels—who can say?



SAVAGE SURVIVALS

IN HIGHER PEOPLES

By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

V.—THE ORIGIN OF HIGHER PEOPLES—(Continued).

15. Moral Ideas of Savages.

The earliest human *virtues* to develop were those which were useful in the preservation of the individual and the tribe—such as *courage*, *loyalty*, *endurance*, the *social feeling*, and the *desire* for *praise* and the *dread* of *blame*.

No man could be useful or faithful to his tribe in a world filled with enemies without *courage*. Hence this trait of character has been universally extolled among primitive men. Among higher men, there are fewer dangers, and hence fewer occasions for the exercise of physical courage. The emphasis of approval has been shifted considerably from physical courage to moral courage. The ultimate heroes of this world will not be tribal or *national* heroes, but the *heroes of humanity*.

Men have stood by each other in the fierce times gone by because it was the only way they could stand. The individual was nothing in the struggle for life. No man could stand alone. The individual could survive only by uniting his strength with that of others. Reason would early teach each man that if he wants the help of his fellow men he must help them in return, and that he could expect others to be true to him only as he was true to them. *Loyalty*, therefore, has been everywhere among primitive peoples one of the highest virtues. Many instances are recorded of savages deliberately sacrificing their lives as prisoners rather than betray their comrades.

Since it is not possible to do these things that are necessary for the welfare of the tribe without *endurance*, this quality has at all times been highly valued by savages. The American Indian voluntarily submits to the most painful tortures without a groan in order to demonstrate his grit and fortitude.

In the rough, semi-frontier world in which I lived as a boy, many of the ideals prevailing were essentially those of savages. A common test of manhood among

us boys was the ability to endure having a piece of skin pinched out of the knuckle of the hand with the sharp finger nails. And a boy who could show a whole set of pinched-out knuckles was always looked up to by the other boys as a sort of hero. We all wanted to be "on his side."

Man's *social nature* was probably inherited from his ape-like ancestors, who commonly live together in loose bands or tribes. The social nature means the tendency in living beings to flow together, and live together, and help each other in the struggle for life. Social animals have an affinity for each other. They are uneasy and incomplete when they are separated from their kind.

Men must have had from the beginning a certain *sympathy* for each other, and must have warned each other of danger and given mutual aid in attack and defense. As men became more dominant in the world and the non-humans became of less consequence as enemies, men turned more and more against each other. Out of the long, fierce strife, which men have waged among themselves, have developed, on the one hand, the tribal instincts, ideas, prejudices, and hatreds, and, on the other, unity, loyalty and patriotism.

The desire for praise and the dread of blame are powerful incentives among all savages, as they are still among all higher peoples. The desire for "glory" is strong even among the rudest savages, as is shown by their excessive boasting, the care with which they decorate themselves, and their craving for "trophies," which last are merely the evidences that they are entitled to some sort of distinction.

The savage has only a very slight knowledge of the world in which he lives. He has no railroads to travel on, no telegraphs nor telephones, no newspapers and no books. He knows for the most part what he sees and hears. His world is bounded largely by his horizon. What there may be

beyond the mountain chain he does not know. But whoever is over there is his enemy. And the fellow on the other side of the mountain feels the same way toward the fellow on this side.

"Mountains interposed and made of nations enemies,

Who had else, like kindred drops, been mingled into one."

—Cowper.

The savage observes a certain rude code of morals to the members of his own tribe, who are for the most part his kinspeople. But all those outside of his tribe are his enemies, and he acts entirely different toward them. Acts which are looked upon as bad when committed by a savage against the members of his own tribe may be regarded as harmless or even commendable when committed on those outside of the tribe. Acts are not judged by their natures or results, but as to whether they are performed upon *outsiders* or upon *insiders*.

The Balantis (Africa) punish with death a theft committed against a fellow tribesman, but encourage and reward thieving from other tribes.

The Afridi (Afghanistan) mother prays that her son may be a successful robber—not a robber of her own people but of other peoples—and in order that he may become skilled in crime teaches him to creep stealthily through a hole in the wall.

In his dealings with the other members of his tribe the savage observes a certain rude code of morals. But outsiders are outlaws. They may be attacked, robbed, deceived, murdered, eaten, or enslaved with perfect propriety.

"There was no brotherhood recognized by our savage forefathers," says Sir Henry Maine, in speaking of the ancestors of the white peoples, "except actual relationship by blood. If a man was not of kin to another, there was nothing between them. He was an enemy to be hated, slain, or despoiled as much as the wild beasts upon which the tribe made war, as belonging, indeed, to the craftiest and cruelest of wild animals. It would scarcely be too strong to assert that the dogs which followed the camp had more in common with it than the tribesman of a foreign and unrelated tribe."

The feeling of *enmity* and *hatred* which a savage feels toward strangers, toward those outside his tribe, seems to be the com-

plement or opposite of the *social feeling* which the savage has toward the members of his tribe. *Sympathy* and *hate* have much the same relation to each other as *pleasure* and *pain*.

The moral excellences of savages consist in the practice of those virtues which are necessary to the preservation of the tribe in a world of strife and war: courage, loyalty, endurance, sympathy, and general conformity to the rules and usages of the tribe in its social, religious, and political organization. These virtues are more or less tribal in their extent. Toward outsiders, hatred, cruelty, intolerance, deception, robbery, and even murder are encouraged or approved. The personal virtues of temperance, prudence, modesty, industry, self-control, cleanliness, and the desire for self-improvement come later in human development. The virtues of humanity, sympathy, justice, charity, gratitude, humanitarianism, and the desire for progress are also post-tribal in development.

There are savages and near-savages. Human beings representing a considerable range in development and culture are called savages. And many so-called "savages" show a higher grade of character and intelligence than is shown by the instances mentioned in this lesson. But, since men have come from lower animals, there must have been intermediate beings between these lower animal forms and the savages existing today that were even lower and more animal-like than is evidenced by the cases cited.

V. SAVAGE SURVIVALS IN HIGHER PEOPLES.

1. Introduction.

The preceding lessons are not directly ethical. They are only indirectly so. The purpose of these lessons has been to prepare the way for and lead up to this lesson and the next one on "Savage Survivals in Higher Peoples."

Many of the most powerful tendencies in the natures of higher peoples are *vestigial*. They are tendencies which were necessary in the earlier and more primitive ages of the world, but which, owing to changed conditions, are no longer useful. They persist as parts of our nature, in accordance with the same laws of survival which perpetuate the vermiform appendix, the ear muscles, and other useless parts of the hu-

man body. Darwin says that man has in his body about 80 different parts that are vestigial—80 different parts that are of no use whatever. And it is very certain that there is a much larger proportion of our *natures* that is vestigial than of our bodies.

Someone has said that "civilization wears a train." It does. And it is a very long one. It is composed of the ideas, beliefs, and institutions which have served men in the past, but which are today out of date and useless, but which we go on tolerating because we are not energetic enough to get rid of them. The world ought really to get out a new edition of itself every little while, leaving out the things that are useless and untrue and inserting new material that has come to it from the higher points of view.

Human nature is like everything else—it slowly changes. It is not the same today that it was a thousand years ago; and it is not the same today that it will be a thousand years in the future. We live in a universe where *everything* is *flowing*. Even the "eternal" hills are changing with every summer shower, and the "fixed" stars are moving. The river valleys have been filed out by the streams that flow in them, and the mountains have *grown* to be what they are. Human nature, like everything else, is a product of growth. But at any particular time human nature, like the human body and like human civilization, consists largely of parts which ought to have been abandoned long ago, but which survive because of our lack of ability to revise ourselves and bring ourselves up to date. We are not entirely of the present. Much of us has come from the past and really belongs to the past.

It is exceedingly important that these survivals should be understood. It is still more important that they should be recognized beyond question as being *illegitimate*. The first six lessons of this book form a series intended to teach these things.

2. Instincts.

An instinct is a natural tendency in a living being to do a thing in a certain way, which has not been learned by experience. Instincts are inborn. We bring them into the world with us. Birds fly north in the spring and south in the fall in obedience to an urge or tendency in their natures to do so. They have not *learned* to do these things. The tendency was born with them.

It is a part of their nature. The mother bird and the mother cow and the mother human being are not taught to love their young. It is an *instinct*, one of the most beautiful in all the gray world of animal life.

I wonder if you have ever come upon the wild partridge with her young ones out in the forest and seen those little balls of down scatter like chaff at the warning cry of the mother. When they are no more than a day old and scarcely able to toddle, these little apologies of living beings will disperse at the distress signal of the mother as promptly and expertly as if they had practiced it for years, creeping under leaves and squatting in little hollows of the ground and lying there as still as stones, and looking so much like the dead leaves that it is almost impossible to find them even though one knows in a general way just where they are. These little souls were *not taught* to do this. They brought the instinct with them when they came out of the egg—along with their backbone, their downy covering, and their craving for food.

Instincts are useful. They take the place of reason and experience. Different species have different sets of instincts, but the members of the same species commonly have the same instincts. The *nature* of any species of animals is made up largely of the instincts or tendencies which it possesses and which urge it to put forth its energies in certain definite directions. The nature of each species of animal is composed of a different bundle of instincts. *Human nature* is the name we give to the set of inclinations which we find in our own species. *Fox nature* is the name of the bundle of instincts found in foxes, and *horse nature* is composed of the urges and instincts which cause horses to do the things they do.

Fundamentally the natures of all the higher animals, including man, are much alike, just as the bodily structures of all the higher animals, including man, are fundamentally similar. All the higher animals have backbones and ribs, and four-chambered hearts, and two lungs, and two pairs of limbs containing the same bones, and heads with eyes, ears, nose, and mouth occupying the same relative positions. And in the same way all the higher animals, including man, have *natures* prompting them to be anxious about their young, to be fond

of their mates, to seek food when they are hungry, and to do their level best to live as long as they can. The dog, the cat, the robin, and the man, although in many ways very different from each other in their natures, are nevertheless all alike in their eagerness to live and in their invariable preference of pleasure to pain. The cat, the dog, the robin, and the man, all have the hunting instinct, for instance, but they hunt different prey, and they hunt their prey in different ways.

3. Habits.

Habit has been called "second nature." And this is a very good name for it. *Habit is truly a second nature.* Our *first* nature is the one we bring into the world with us. It consists of the instincts which grow up in us along with the early growth of our bodies, that is, our growth before birth. An *instinct* is a tendency to act in a uniform way which was *born with us*; a *habit* is a uniform way of acting which we acquire *after birth*. Our natural ways of acting may be modified by the habits which we acquire after we come into the world.

Habits are formed by *repetition*—by doing things over and over and over. If we lived in a world where things were never repeated, it would be impossible to form habits. The oftener we do a thing the greater the tendency to do it again. Repeat *anything* often enough, and it will become a habit, and, in time, harden into a fixed part of our nature.

Life is filled with repetitions of all kinds—walking, writing, eating, playing, working, dressing, and undressing, etc. After we walk, and talk, and eat, and work, and dress, and dream, and bathe, and write our names, hundreds or thousands of times, we fall into certain fixed styles of doing them. We come to walk in a certain way, and to have a certain style of handwriting, and a certain way of speaking, and a certain order of putting on our clothes, and a certain set of favorite drinks and dishes, and a certain look and disposition. Some of these, of course, depend a good deal on our original nature, as, for instance, our looks and disposition. But even these are largely the result of habit. The face is largely the mirror of the soul. When we have a certain feeling, as anger or joy, it shows itself in the face. And if a feeling is repeated over and over and over, it freezes—it becomes the common expres-

sion of the face. We can tell a grouch, a thinker, an optimist, or a wit by the general condition of mind which he advertises in his face.

These habits deepen with the repetitions of the passing years. In the early stages of the formation of a habit we may do a thing or not as we choose. But in the course of time it becomes very difficult or even impossible to act otherwise than we have formed the habit of acting. The habit becomes *master*. We form mental and moral habits, just as we form bodily habits. We get into the habit of thinking in certain ways and of believing certain things, and after we have thought these things over thousands of times we can't think any other way to save our lives. If we should think that the moon is made of green cheese a *million times*, we would never be able to think any different, however long we might live.

You have each certain beliefs regarding politics, religion, education, etc., which you have because you grew up in a certain neighborhood and family. In many ways these beliefs of yours would be the very opposite of what they are if you had come into existence in a different family or neighborhood. It is a very serious business, this choosing of our parents and our place of birth, for what becomes of us as men and women depends a great deal on what sort of influences beat in upon us and mould us during our earlier years. We may form habits of honesty or dishonesty, of kindness or unkindness, of truth or falsehood, etc., and as the years go by these habits will harden into character as certainly as the world goes round. "Sow an act, and reap a habit; sow a habit, and reap a character; sow a character, and reap a destiny" (Thackeray).

If we could only realize while we are yet young how soon we shall become a mere walking bundle of habits, we would be much more careful as to what habits we fasten upon ourselves while we are still in the habit-forming stage. We begin at the wrong end of life. We just get ready to live when we are called upon to die.

Character is the name of our *acting machinery*. It consists at any particular time of our *nature*, that is, of our *first* nature, *modified by our second nature*, that is by the *habits* which we have formed up to that time.

FAR EASTERN IMPERIALISM

I. Modern Imperialism

By S. J. RUTGERS

TO UNDERSTAND modern imperialism in general and the important part, that the far East will have to play in the future development of imperialism, it is indispensable to have a clear idea as to the fundamental difference between the old form of commercial colonialism and the new form of expansion, in which the investment of capital plays a foremost role.

A few centuries ago, when capitalism was in its infancy, we already find an important colonial system. Portugal, Spain, and Holland secured most of the profits in this early colonial period, in which agricultural and mineral products were purchased from the East Indies, Africa and America. This was a period of mere robbery, the products being taken by force, or in exchange, for some gin or glassware of almost no value, which was presented to the Chiefs of the natives, in order to secure their co-operation in robbing the country. Especially in Holland and afterwards in England, those robbed fortunes have been a big stimulus in the developing of capitalism. Robbery and murder stood at the cradle of capitalism in Europe, and the black and brown kings of the far East had to bring their tributes in golden presents, soiled with the blood of the natives.

After this most primitive and direct plunder, which of its very nature could not be permanent, there has developed in close interchange with growing capitalism, the period of commercial colonialism, in which England has been the leading country.

In this period there is an exchange of agricultural and mineral products for the industrial products from Europe. We need hardly state, that bribery and murder play an important part also in this period. But capitalism has after all, some interest in developing the needs of the natives, in order to secure a market for their own goods. Missionaries have to teach them, that it is only decent to wear

the cheap cotton clothes from Manchester; science becomes interested in their habits and history. But neither is there general need in this period of taking the foreign countries in full possession. When the Government is only sufficiently strong to protect commerce and to maintain "order", there is no necessity to interfere in details. Colonies in which European people can live permanently, were allowed to become independent without great resistance and in other parts of the world native chiefs were left in a certain degree of self-government.

This also is the period in which England stands for free trade; commerce not being monopolistic in its nature, it was possible to allow other nations to have some trade, especially as long as England's industry was unrivalled, woven goods being the chief article of export. The fundamental of this period has been the free development of individual competition in European industry, under a so-called liberal government and a policy of non-state-intervention.

Now we must clearly see, that this period of free competition gradually has undergone a fundamental change. It proved, first in some big industries among which the steel industry is the most important, that free competition would lead to capitalist ruin. All "free slogans" were at once dropped and we notice in different parts of the world a rapid growth of capitalist combinations. Free competition gave way to monopolies and trusts.

It is this same capitalist development, resulting from the fact, that unlimited investment in home industries causes a fall in profits, which leads to an immense export of capital to foreign countries. Financial capital, together with trustified industries, now become the leading interests. There is a run of concessions of all kinds, among which are, foremost the railways, harbor works and the extractive industries: Coal mines, oil fields, iron and copper mines. This, however, is only the

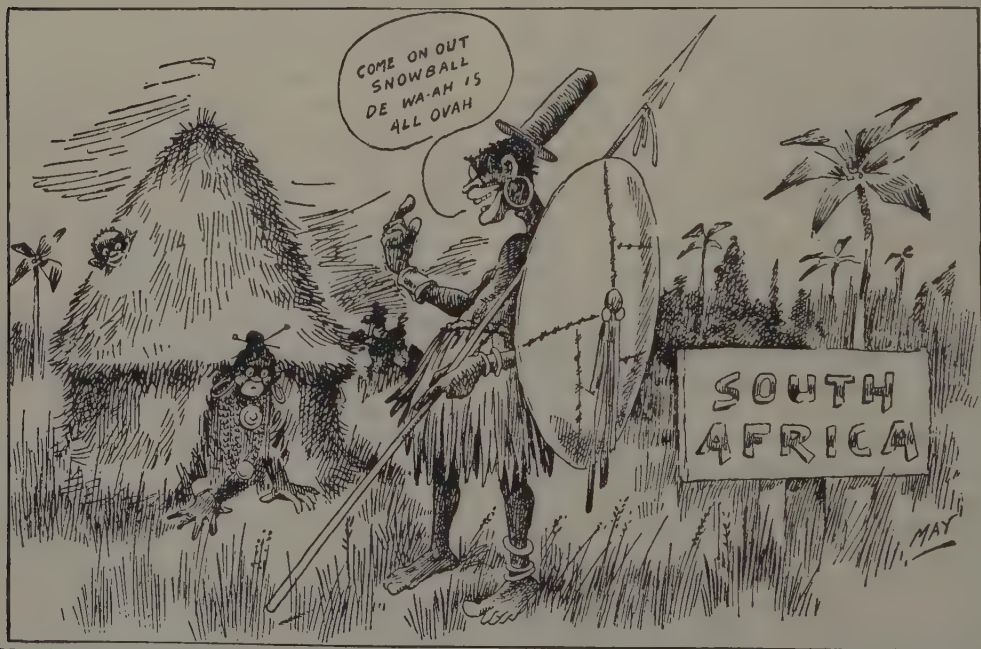
beginning and we may be sure, that before long, there will spring up many other industries in those countries, it being profitable to produce where labor and materials are cheapest.

Now look at the difference as compared with the old commercial colonialism. The construction of railroads and harbor works, which cost millions of dollars, makes monopoly necessary in that part of the world, in order to secure profits. It becomes indispensable to control the economic development, to mingle with every detail of government. This means not only aggression against those foreign countries, but also aggression between the robbers, of those large monopolies. This gigantic struggle to conquer the whole world to capitalism is no longer a colonial problem; it becomes decisive even in every part of social life at the home country. The national state, controlled by financial and trust capital, changes much of its national character to become a fighting unit in international expansion. Alas! the old national ideology does not change as quickly. Democratic institution, parliamentary system, state socialism, labor legislation, militar-

ism, all are affected by this fundamental change called, "imperialism". Socialism will have to change its tactics in a revolutionary way, to have any influence in future.

Although American imperialism has features of its own, the general characteristics are international and will be so evermore. The present state of imperialism in this country has been influenced by the possibilities of greatly developing the inland home market. Besides the fact, however, that this exceptional situation is rapidly coming to an end, the system itself has already made great progress, being personified in the name of Rockefeller. It seems that some of you cherish a most dangerous illusion for crushing this system by strengthening old forms of democracy; but you will find, that we are only at the beginning of imperialism and that bourgeois-democracy is at its end.

The only chance to win your cause will be in learning to understand the real force of imperialism, and it is for this reason, that I hope you are interested in some remarks on far-Eastern problems.



May, in Detroit Times

LUCKY SOUTH AFRICA



JAMES A. ROYAL

GOOD BYE, SECTION GANGS!

AN INVENTION aiming to reduce the present cost of railway maintenance, and which, if successful, will do away entirely with the present day section gangs and extra crews employed upon the tamping of ties, has been recently completed by James A. Royal of Spruce Grove, Alberta.

It has been roughly estimated that American roads spend annually \$400,000,000 in the keeping of their roadbed smooth. Most of this amount goes to the laborers engaged upon this track work. The inventor, for many years a section hand, extra gang and section boss, and later roadmaster on several American roads, has succeeded in manufacturing a machine which he claims with the use of compressed air will tamp ties more rapidly and with more force and evenness and much more compactly than can be done by manual labor with a shovel.

The machine, model of which is seen in accompanying photograph, is some three feet high, made of steel piping material and weighs only forty-seven pounds, the cost of manufacture being fifteen dollars. By using aluminum in place of steel the inventor intends to cut this weight down to twenty-seven pounds without reducing wearing qualities. At its heaviest, it is much lighter than a track jack.

The idea of the device is to inject the ballast under the end of the tie, one machine working at each end of the same tie at the same time. The old way is to tamp it in from the side. By forcing the ballast in from the end as is intended by the new way the roadbed is left intact.

The ballast is poured into the lower part of machine through a vent, the funnel of which is seen at the extreme left of photo. By combining a very powerful stream of compressed air, supplied from a specially equipped motor car, the ballast is driven out through the toe of the machine, which is placed under the end of the tie when tie is raised by the track jack. The toe of the machine is fitted with an aperture which can be made large or small to accommodate the size of gravel used, gravel for a lift from one-eighth of an inch to two inches in depth thus being accommodated. Stones to a diameter of four inches may be used. On maintenance the general average of material is, however, somewhat smaller.

At the present day an army of men and much equipment are used in this work, a standard day's work for one man being fifty-six feet. The cost is about \$250 per mile.

The present invention is intended to do away with these. One especially equipped motor car to supply the compressed air will be used in conjunction with eight of these ejectors, which will do four miles of track per day at a maximum cost of \$100 per mile. To handle this will be required one shovel man to each two machines, eight machine men, two flagmen and a foreman. Eight machines, one motor and this staff of men is expected to keep in repair one hundred and twenty-five miles of track.

On April 9th and 13th the machine was given a rigid tryout on tracks of the Canadian Northern Railway at Edmonton and its work approved of by officials of the road. The regular, specially equipped motor car which is to work with these machines as yet not having been completed, a locomotive supplied the power for the test.

The invention is of very simple construction and the following explanation of its

workings is easily comprehended by one of a mechanical turn of mind:

The end of the line of air hose from the motor is fastened to end of pipe line, at the direct right of picture. Lever No. 1, directly underneath the pipe, operates two valves. When the lever is up it allows air to pass through the lower pipe into the top cylinder which forces the piston therein up to the top. As that piston comes up it drives the piston head at the bottom up to the top. At this moment material is shoveled into the vent. Then the lever is brought down, closing the lower valve and opening the top one, thereby forcing the piston head down on the material. Then by opening lever No. 2—seen directly over material funnel—the powerful stream of compressed air is turned upon the material in the bottom of cylinder and the material is forced at high pressure out of the toe of the machine and under the tie.

Mexican Workers in the Southwest

By W. W. PANNELL

A LABOR element that is almost entirely overlooked by our national labor organizations is the Mexicans in the Southwestern part of the United States. The internal troubles in Mexico have resulted in an abnormal increase in the number of Mexicans in the United States. So great, in fact, has the increase been that in many parts of the aforesaid territory nearly all of the unskilled labor is performed by Mexican laborers who, because of their adaptability to low standards of living, have materially decreased the rewards of labor in the Southwest.

It would be useless, as well as unwise, to condemn the Mexicans themselves for this condition. The wiser thing would be to educate them to a degree of solidarity; and a recognition of their modes of life and work is imperative to a clear understanding of the subject.

Although Mexico is a land very rich in minerals, the main livelihood of those Mexicans who have immigrated to the United States has been that of agriculture. It must also be understood that agriculture in Mexico has not developed

to the extent of that of the United States, and therefore that the Mexican farmer is his own manufacturer, making his own ox carts, harness, farming tools, furniture, etc. He is, therefore, unacquainted with the modern methods of capitalist production, and fit only for the unskilled labor of the farms, railroads and mines.

In south Texas, where big tracts of swamp land are being developed by capitalist concerns, Mexicans are almost the only laborers employed. Overseers in the development camps will hire Mexican in preference to native labor at every opportunity, chiefly because the Mexican will work cheaply and say nothing about living conditions, whereas native labor is more apt to demand a living wage and assume some degree of independence.

The work comprises the clearing of the swamp land of the trees and underbrush and the digging of drainage ditches. The swamps abound in malaria and mosquitoes, and, oftentimes, with only the shelter of a tent, the Mexican laborer braves death and disease to himself and family for this opportunity to acquire a meager livelihood. Some of the poorer Mexicans

have not even the poor shelter of a tent. These build brush shelters, which inadequately protect them from the mosquitoes and the torrential rains of the Gulf Coast region.

The Mexicans that work on the railroads and in the mines are scarcely better off. In their advertisements for "section hands," the railroad companies always insert the clause "Mexicans preferred." This is because the Mexican has fewer wants than the native laborer, can be forced to work for less and is therefore more desirable in the eyes of the railway magnate. A discarded box car, set at the side of the track, or the lumber contained in a few dry-goods boxes, nailed on up-rights, constitutes the home of the railroad Mexican. "Greaser town" is a term applied to a collection of huts and hovels peopled by Mexican workers.

The food of the Mexican is of the scantiest kind. It is the universal opinion that the Mexicans working at the land clearing subsist on the berries and nuts growing in the swamps. While this may not be absolutely true, it is a fact that the Mexican's outlay for food is only a few cents a day.

It is because of this low standard of living that the Mexican is able to com-

mand all of the unskilled labor in the Southwest, where the rates of pay, as elsewhere, are based on what is actually necessary to reproduce the labor power expended in a day's work, taking the Mexican living standard as a basis.

Up to date labor organizations in the South have expended all their energies in antagonizing the Mexican element; agitating for laws that would prevent Mexicans from working in certain industries over which some particular craft union claims to have jurisdiction, but the time has come when organized labor in the South must join with the Mexican and either attain industrial freedom for him or go down to his baseness of slavery.

"Exclusion" will never and has never benefited the Southern labor movement. The fact that the Southern labor movement is in such a weak condition today is due solely to the action of a few labor leaders, who have refused to consider the unorganized element, of which the Mexican is only a part, and have persisted in the maintenance of "exclusive" labor circles instead of building up a compact, militant labor movement that should today be resisting the onslaughts of organized capital.

THE DUTY OF SOCIALIST EDUCATORS

By M. B. BUTLER

HAVING once been a school teacher, the writer was greatly interested in Frank Bohn's timely article in the April REVIEW on the Relation of Socialism to the public schools. That is a field that has been greatly neglected, nor is there a field more fertile for the inculcation of revolutionary principles and ideals than the public schools.

While in school, it is of vital importance that the children should be educated along working class lines, so that they will be prepared to enter intelligently into the class war and fight for their class, instead of becoming conceited and falsely educated lickspittles of the capitalist class.

In this humble attempt, I only hope to suggest a few ways that Socialist educators can introduce into the schools *now, under present conditions*, courses of study that

deal with the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism.

In school districts where the trustees and most of the patrons are Socialists, the trustees should, by all means, if possible, employ Socialist teachers, and only such teachers as are well grounded in Marxian economics. Then they should demand of the teacher that he give a systematic course of instruction on the class struggle; the materialistic conception of history; wages, labor and capital; value, price and profit; industrial solidarity, etc.

With his psychological and pedagogical training, the teacher will, of course, endeavor to simplify the more abstruse subjects to bring them within the grasp of his pupils and present them in a manner both attractive and instructive.

But when a Socialist is teaching in a

hostile community, he should, nevertheless, not fail to do his duty by his pupils and his class. He can find many ways to present working class ideas. If he has good reason to think he would be ousted if he taught revolutionary ideas and called them Socialism, or any other radical name, he can teach the substance, to a greater or less degree, and omit names. I personally know one teacher who openly teaches Socialist economics in his schools. The enemies of Socialism tried to remove him, but his reputation as an efficient educator stood him in hand and they failed.

Unless the Socialist teacher is a high school professor, I think the country districts and small schools are the best places for his work in this line, for then he has no high and mighty principal with capitalistic instincts to lord it over him.

Now, for example, in teaching United States history, the teacher can supplement an accompanying course in industrial history, using, for the purpose, such works as "Coman's Industrial History of the United States" and Simon's "Class Struggles in America," and he should emphasize the overwhelming importance of industrial development as the means that builds and destroys nations, shapes history and makes society what it is. He should take special pains to counteract the influence of histories that glorify wars, generals, kings and the great man idea.

He can likewise teach other branches of study in a similar manner, giving the true working class interpretation to every detail. In ancient history, Engels' "Origin of the Family," Morgan's "Ancient Society" and Ward's "Ancient Lowly" should be used for reference and for diligent supplemental study.

In geography, it should be explained that political divisions and boundary lines are capitalist divisions and boundary lines, together with their causes and purposes.

In mathematics, it should be shown that interest, profit and loss, stocks and bonds, banking, etc., are a gigantic swindle to get something for nothing. That labor produces all values and that labor should have all that it produces.

There is hardly a branch of science taught in the schools that is not grossly perverted to bolster up capitalist society, and the teacher should be awake to all the

frauds every minute of the day, and counteract them with the truth at every opportunity as far as he can or dares. In the primer grades, where the teacher delivers nature talks to prepare the child for higher grades, such as geography, history, language, the study of plants, animals, etc., etc., he has almost unlimited latitude, and he can have no excuse if he fails to impress upon the child minds the fundamental principles of the class struggle, the cause and purpose of strikes, the meaning of tramps, etc. For a small sum, he can furnish the pupils with valuable pamphlets, such as Mary E. Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics," Trautman's "One Big Union," "The Communist Manifesto," and many others. Pupils should be required to write compositions on the subjects treated, and debates should be arranged between students on various revolutionary subjects.

Where a teacher cannot come out in the open like this, he can, at least, have literature sent to his pupils, and he can find a thousand ways to inculcate vital truths where ignorant and prejudiced patrons will never suspect.

It goes without saying that patriotism and the military ideal should at least be totally ignored if they cannot be openly condemned. In schools where all the children are of the working class, the teacher can and should teach the children to honor and idealize the useful workers, and to look with disrespect and contempt upon parasites and parasitic occupations. There is no teacher that is so hampered that he cannot do some of these things for his class, and to some extent in the public schools.

Will anyone say that these methods are underhanded and should not be used? If so, I reply that the end justifies the means, and the real Socialist teacher would be a self-detested hypocrite to teach the capitalist lies as formulated in the usual text books.

I think it would be time well spent if some clear and able writer, like Mary E. Marcy or J. E. Sinclair, would write school primers and pamphlets supplementing our school text books, to bring out the truth and nail the lies taught in our public schools. The names Socialism, Industrial Unionism, etc., could be omitted, so that the position of the teacher will not be embarrassed or endangered by their use.

Judge O. N. Hilton in the Joe Hill Case

The following excerpts have been taken from the able argument of Judge Hilton before the Utah Supreme Court. Joe Hill will be executed on October 1 unless enough pressure is brought to bear on the governor to stay the execution. Every REVIEW reader should write at once to Governor Spry, Salt Lake City, Utah, denouncing the infamous procedure of the courts in this case, and demanding that Joe Hill be given clemency. Do it now.

1st. We do not believe Joseph Hillstrom guilty of the crime for which he has been convicted.

2nd. We do not believe that he had a fair trial.

3rd. We have learned that the jurors were not selected in the usual way.

4th. The defendant was practically without council when he was on trial for his life

5th. No motive was shown for the crime for which he was convicted.

6th. The conviction was found upon the flimsiest kind of circumstantial evidence.

Believing these to be the facts, we the undersigned, demand that the death sentence in the case of Joseph Hillstrom be set aside and clemency extended.

THE young man in this information named as the defendant was convicted, as the record discloses, of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be shot. He is of more than ordinary culture and intelligence, converses fluently and well, although English is not his native speech; has never in his life been convicted of a criminal offense, not even a misdemeanor; without a single vicious or bad habit, not even that of using tobacco, bright, clean in mind and alert of body he stands now in this court, as he did before the jury which condemned him, entitled to every gracious right and privilege vouchsafed him by the constitution and laws of this state, which, as I assert, were for the most part wholly denied him on trial, and a conviction obtained which shockingly violates every consideration of reason and humanity.

Assuming that in this state, as in most of the others where I have had occasion to appear before the Supreme Court, that is from the oral argument that the court receives its first impression of the case, before proceeding with a discussion of the errors assigned, it will aid the court, I feel, to state the salient features of the case.

I was not present at the trial in the court below; hence I cannot as fully acquaint the court with the atmosphere of the trial, as I could through personal presence.

This disadvantage, however, is fully compensated, from the fact that I am able to take an impersonal and altogether unprejudiced view of the case, as my knowledge comes from a careful study of the abstract in the court here.

And after a most painstaking study of the facts as they appear, I feel warranted in saying to this court, and in saying with emphasis, that every element essential to conviction (1) identification beyond a reasonable doubt, (2) proof of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, (3) absence of motive, (4) the denial of the substantive right of personal presence and by counsel, are so wanting in the case, and the constitutional safeguards prescribed to assure a fair, impartial and unprejudiced trial—a trial that results in conviction upon guilt alone—

have been so utterly disregarded, that even this cursory presentation, based as it is solely on the record, will convince this court that the verdict cannot stand and the sentence must be set aside.

* * * * *

Facts of the Case.

On the night of January 10, 1914, the deceased, J. S. Morrison, with his two sons, was in his store, here in the city, engaged in routine duties of a tradesman. There was evidently an apprehension in the mind of the deceased, for he loaded his revolver (Abs. 86), placed it in the ice box, where the door had been removed, and where the gun would be right at hand, and about ten o'clock two men came in, exclaiming, "We've got you now," and began shooting, firing, it seems, some five to seven shots, killing J. S. Morrison and his son Arling Morrison.

Such a tragedy, in the midst of a busy city, on a prominent street, could have been prompted by only one motive—REVENGE. There must have been hot anger and deadly wrath moving the assailants to this desperate deed at such a time and under such a risk.

Naturally every feeling of good citizenship is alert not only to discover the murderer, but to visit such a punishment as to deter others from such an awful crime—I say an awful crime, the highest crime known to the law of the land, the highest tragedy known to the law of nature, and the thing that even the most primitive society is organized to protect against.

But, in this crisis, we should never avenge in hot haste and add to private assassination the horrors of a judicial murder—for when an innocent man is convicted and executed the command "thou shalt do no murder," is deliberately broken and crime stalks insolently along, unwhipped of justice.

Then the duty devolving on this court is, as I take it, to know to a moral certainty, that certainty that excludes all reasonable doubt, the identity of the criminal agent and to so connect him with the crime that there is no reasonable doubt of his guilt.

Let us consider whether or not this has been definitely fixed upon the defendant, or whether vague suspicions, prejudgments, inference and speculations have been allowed to usurp the place during the trial that should be filled with convincing and satisfying evidence.

The young son who was present, the only living witness to the tragedy, says:

"Two voices shouted, 'We've got you now!'" (Abs. 80); the men had on red bandanna handkerchiefs, so that the point came down over their chin. They had on soft felt hats. There was a little difference in the height of the men; the taller was leading, and nearest the father.

"The defendant's height is about the same and his size compares (Abs. 92) just the same as the man I saw."

Is there any identification of any person in this evidence?

The next witness to identification in Phoebe Seeley:

"Going home that night, we met two men as we were crossing Jefferson street (Abs. 182). One was slightly taller than the other; the taller man turned, directing his gaze toward us and I noticed a red handkerchief on the neck of the taller man (Abs. 183). His face was thin and a sharp nose and rather large nostrils." (Abs. 185).

Recall, if you please, that at this point the defendant was without counsel, and one of the friends of the court suggested (Abs. 186), that the questions were all unfair and all leading and that the witness was receiving the answer she should make from the district attorney.

And she continues:

"I have seen the defendant standing since and his height is very much the same with the height of the man that turned and looked at me."

Now listen to the district attorney: (Abs. 188.)

Q. How does the nose of Mr. Hillstrom compare with the nose of the man that looked at you there?

A. Very much the same.

Q. How do the marks on the left-hand side of the face and neck correspond with the marks you saw on that man?

A. They look a good deal alike to me as on the same man I saw.

Special features are pointed out; comparisons are invited as to detail—efforts, by suggestion, to make the witness see what she had never seen. A man fair to the defendant and to the state would never have so wilfully disregarded the rule as to manufacture fancied resemblances in the excited imagination of a woman testifying in a court room. He would have said: If you notice any resemblance, state the facts on which it is based, and be so sure about it that you can state it in your own language—for remember that the life of a man depends upon it, and there must be no guess-

work, no vague impressions, but facts that satisfy the conscience. Instead of that he does all but ask her directly to state that the men are the same. By all possible stretch of imagination, helped out by suggestions, her nearest guess is "that they looked very much the same."

* * * * *

Concluding, I now ask your honors frankly, if you, or any one that is dear to you, was condemned upon the inconclusive, disjointed fragments of suspicion, misnomered by the state as evidence against this defendant, would you say that you or they were JUSTLY condemned and that the crime charged had been proved against you beyond a reasonable doubt?

Would you, or would you permit anyone dear to you to go to his death under this flimsy testimony and then say that you or he had been tried, fairly and impartially, according to the law of the land, and in accordance with the safeguards provided by the constitution.

Now, your honors, unless you can answer these queries firmly by YES, you must reverse this case. So far as the law is concerned, you must each stand in Hillstrom's place, and standing in that place you must be able to say upon your conscience that you have been proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt after a fair and impartial hearing; after a full opportunity to present and prove your defense, both in person and by counsel and that you are condemned because you are the guilty agent of the crime that the state here seeks to punish.

Being normal and just men, the members of the final tribunal of the property, liberty and life of every man in this state, you cannot concur in the sentence imposed on this man, because there is in the abstract of the record that error which commands you to say that great and manifest injury has been done to this defendant; that there has been such a disregard of constitutional safeguards in the trial, that to affirm the judgment would be to place in jeopardy every man and to have his life staked upon the conjectures, the worthless comparisons, the fancied resemblances and the prejudgments of those utterly unable to speak a single fact that could satisfy the reason: thereby establishing a precedent that would make law and decent procedure give way to the chaos that has enwrapped the great nations of Europe, where solemn obligations of high contracting nations are mere scraps of paper and where hatred and prejudice direct evil forces to the utter destruction of mankind. And no less in kind or degree, because directed against a single man, the defendant—a defenseless, almost helpless and an illegally convicted young man.

O. N. HILTON,

Of Counsel for Appellant and Defendant.



MACHINE MILLINERY

By FANIA MINDELL

WE ALL know that if a trade is not organized and the workers of that trade let the bosses decide what is right and what is wrong as to wages and conditions, the trade is bound to degenerate, because the workers do not put enough value upon the things they are producing, and this is just what is now happening to the millinery trade.

About four years ago, the girls doing piece work in the millinery trade were able to make between three and four dollars a day, and also have enough work in the dull season to enable them to make a living. In some shops where they give the girls a dozen hats at a time, the girls find difficulty making the first hat. But as soon as they produce one hat, they find it easy to make the rest. And so no time is wasted in waiting. But here in Chicago in most of the shops, they give one or two hats at a time, so the girls put in more time waiting for work than in working.

Those who used to work by the week had better wages and a longer season than they have now. To compare the wages of today with those of a few years ago is shocking. A good maker used to get \$13 a week a few years ago; she gets between six and ten dollars now. Copyists who used to get between \$12 and \$15, get between \$7 and \$12 now. In some shops here in Chicago where I went to try jobs by the week, telling them I got \$15 a week in New York while working for a designer, they told me that their girls here get between \$6 and \$8. And this was in one of the biggest houses in Chicago. I know it to be a fact that many of the girls who come from out of town and who want to copy styles, work for these bosses for \$6 and \$8 a week, whereas when they work in the season in the stores as trimmers they get between \$15 and \$25. So the bosses get the advantage of them.

Until a few years ago the girls used to get four months' work in the winter season and about five in the summer season. In other words, they had work almost the year round. Now, they get only a two months' winter season and about three months summer season, while last summer season the girls had work in the factories for only about two months.

So much for the shop. Now let us go to the stores. In the millinery stores, where a few years ago they used to have to have ten girls working, they now have only two. Then they had to have girls to prepare the hat for the trimmer, in other words, to make the hat. In the winter time, these were made out of velvet, and in the summer time, out of straw or chiffon. Now they don't need girls for this work. The machine does it all and more cheaply.

Up to a few years ago, satin, silk, velvet, and even straw hats used to be made by hand, whereas now these are made by machine. Hence the hand workers feel that the machine has taken away their bread, and they have the operators to compete with them. I remember last season when I went to ask for a raise, the boss told me that if the hand workers did not want to make hats, the machine workers would do it. And so there is always a struggle between the hand workers and the operators.

Here in Chicago the small storekeepers don't advertise for trimmers in the papers, but go to the wholesale houses, where they get their materials for the hats, and there they get the girls to trim the hats. The wages of the trimmers are also much lower today than they used to be a few years ago. A trimmer, who used to get \$18 a week two years ago, was considered a second-hand trimmer. The wages of a first-hand trimmer used to be \$25 and \$35, and even more. Then they also had a longer season. Now, they do not get as long a season, and the bosses don't want to pay to a second trimmer more than \$15, and in some places less. And they want the first-class trimmers to work for \$18. They offer between ten and twelve weeks' work, which amounts to about 24 weeks' work in a year. On that they expect a trimmer to live a whole year. More than that, those girls who are looking for trimming positions must go to the wholesale houses and be on exhibition, while the buyers are taken around to inspect them. If the girls are nice-looking and wear beautiful clothes, they stand a better chance of getting positions than others, regardless of what their qualifications may be. Two years ago I lost a position be-

cause I refused to paint myself up and look like a freak.

We are trying to organize the milliners here in Chicago. Every millinery worker

who has any interest in herself or her fellow workers will join this union. All interested in this effort should address this magazine.



May, in Detroit Times

OUCH!

The Central Labor College—England

From The Plebs Magazine

IF ever the aims of the C. L. C. were justified, if ever the urgent necessity for independent working-class education was made plain and clear as daylight, those aims have been justified and that necessity made plain by the events of the last few months. Other articles and communications in this issue deal with certain recent events in greater detail. Here we need only refer to them in so far as they have any bearing on the C. L. C. We wish, then, to point out that one fight, and one fight only, has been put up by organized labor against the profiteers who, organized politically as "the State," have done their utmost, under cover of a real national crisis, to rob labor of practically every safeguard it had won for itself during the long struggle against exploitation. That fight has been put up by the South Wales miners; and the entire Capitalist Press without exception have paid heartfelt compliments to those 'young men with Syndicalist dreams'—those 'clever fellows,' as *The Times* called them—but for whose

organizing and educational work in the coalfield it was felt that the profiteers might have hoped to win. We need not discuss the precise part played by these wicked "Syndicalists"; enough that Fleet Street reserved its most blood-curdling epithets for them, and that the "clever fellows" are C. L. C. men—ex-students or active supporters. Every malediction hurled at their heads by the leader-writers of *The Times*, the *Morning Post*, or the *Daily News*, has been a testimonial to the value of the C. L. C. *The College must go on turning out those young men*; and when it or they cease to deserve the maledictions of Fleet Street, it will have failed in its mission. The *Daily Express*, by the way, offered a reward of £5,000 for information leading to the identification of the cunning German agents whose machinations caused the strike. We claim the money—and hereby give the names of the wicked aliens; they are Karl Marx, Frederic Engels, and Joseph Dietzgen. Will the *Express* please make the cheque payable to the C. L. C.?

MARX'S AND ENGELS' FORTY YEARS' CORRESPONDENCE

By GUSTAV BANG

Translated by Caroline Nelson

VI.

The correspondence between Marx and Engels covers four different periods.

First, the communistic period in the forties, when the movement was in its first formation or embryonic state, when it had not yet divorced itself from bourgeois ideas. The communistic movement lost strength under the reaction that set in after the revolution of 1848, and Europe was for many years in the death-grip of this reaction. The small communistic organizations became more and more sectarian and at last died a straw-death.

Here came the long, hard period where everything was dead, and all independent life and power of the working class seem to ebb away. But in that time was the great development of the capitalist system that created a proletarian working class in the modern sense of the word. Little by little this class got its eyes open to its own position in society. And, as we have seen, it was the time that the pioneer work was done for the theoretical foundation of the coming socialist movement. During that time the historic means was brought about for the social democracy that now in every country attempts to capture the power of society.

Then followed the period of the formation of the "International" in 1864, and it prompted a mighty stirring of the working class all over Europe. A new socialist movement arose on a much sounder basis than that in the communistic period twenty years before.

The "International" foundered in the seventies, but it gave birth to a new period, and the organizations that it had brought into the world lived on. The movement that it had started continued to grow. It steadily increased in power

and membership, with a clearer program, and used tactics suitable to the different conditions in the different countries. Modern socialism developed in the form that we know it today. To enlighten us on this period there is comparatively little in the correspondence, as Engels at that time had moved to London to live. It is only when one or the other of the two men were away from the city that they exchanged letters. Nevertheless, there are letters wherein Marx and Engels express themselves on important matters, such as the formation of the German social-democratic party, which reaches back to 1863, when the general German Labor Organization was built by the leadership of Lassalle, the year before the "International" was founded.

Lassalle, Marx and Engels had originally been in close personal touch, but many things happened that induced Marx and Engels to pass a sharp judgment on Lassalle during the last years of his life. He repulsed them, not only on account of his boundless egotism, but also on account of his self-aggrandizement. Lassalle seriously represented himself as the one man who had practically held in his hand Europe's fate for many years, claiming that it was he who hindered Prussia from interfering in the Italian war; he who had given Garibaldi good advice, which, if carried out, would have resulted in changing Europe's political balance. The letters contain many references that throw light on the character of Lassalle. But that which chiefly made Marx and Engels oppose Lassalle was the fear that they entertained, and naturally must entertain, that the labor movement under his leadership would be led into a by-path.

It was with good reason that they were

anxious regarding the program that he had formed and wanted the German labor movement to take up, which was that the workers should form co-operative factories partly supported by the state. These factories were gradually to replace capitalistic production, and thereby reshape the whole of society from the capitalist basis to the socialist. This idea seemed to Marx and Engels not only fanatical, but very dangerous as a basis for the coming German labor movement. So that it was not wholly without reason that they feared Lassalle as a labor dictator, whose personal egotism might easily gain the upper hand over his regard for the cause.

That Marx's and Engels' cool regard for Lassalle's activity was fully merited could not be doubted. But, regardless of the criticisms of Lassalle, it was, nevertheless, his agitation method which in 1853, and the following year, had such a tremendous influence on the German working class and helped them to awaken to class-consciousness. So far it had historical value. Marx and Engels were not blind to this, and it was this that kept them from publicly attacking Lassalle's propaganda. And when Lassalle in the last part of August, 1864, was suddenly killed in a duel they could both, in spite of it, appreciate his work. Engels writes, the 4th of September:

"No matter what Lassalle was, privately or publicly, he was nevertheless one of the most important men in Germany. At the present moment he was to us a very unreliable friend, and in the future he would certainly have been our enemy, but that does not matter; it hurts me to see how Germany loses all its somewhat able people in the extreme parties. What jubilation will there not be among the factory owners and the swine of the reform party. Lassalle was the only fellow in Germany they feared."

Marx answered a few days later:

"I have not been able to think of anything else these days than of the tragedy of Lassalle. He was, at any rate, one of the old guard and an enemy of our enemy. . . . When, after all is said and done, it hurts me to think that our relationship in the last few years was not of the best, which he certainly could blame himself for. On the other hand, I am glad that

I did not yield to the request from different quarters to attack him in his triumphant year."

Later on followed the long, inner conflict between the two directions in the German labor movement, with the Lassallance on one side and the division on the other side coming nearer to Marxian, Socialist principles. The leading man on the Marxian side was Liebknecht, and the conflict did not end until in 1875 in the Gotha-congress, where the two divisions joined together in the social-democratic party.

As the German labor organization general secretary in the "International," Marx sought to hold himself neutral in those inner, often very annoying, disputes. All his personal sympathy was naturally on the side of Liebknecht and his followers. But Marx was very far from agreeing with their tactics sometimes. He often sent furious letters to Liebknecht, when he, according to Marx's judgment, committed stupidities. Sometimes he was proven to be right, while on the other hand his judgments were shown to have been too hastily formed. This was very natural, as he was too far away to know the conditions and the difficulties. Especially was Marx dissatisfied in the period following shortly after the Prussian-Austrian war in 1866, and particularly with the German social-democratic press, which, according to his idea, was too friendly toward Austria and Southwest Germany; instead of attacking Bismarck, he thought that it ought to direct its batteries on both sides. Liebknecht's political attitude toward Prussia, in the years closely after the war, were such that he only sought to criticise and carry on agitation without at the same time seeking to get practical reforms for the working-class. This attitude was the subject for strong criticism from Marx's side, who writes:

"It is a great standpoint that he has, which is to the effect that we can, of the so-called present state, neither give nor receive considerations for the working class. With that point of view we can advance damn little among the workers. It was very different under the German-Franco war in 1870; here was the labor party's attitude on both sides of the bor-

der line, a correct expression of the interest of the working class. It is lucky that the class struggle in both France and Germany is so far advanced that a foreign war cannot effectually turn the wheel of time back." A few days later he writes: "It is only the working class that form an active opposition to the international swindle."

Eugene Duehring, in the middle of the seventies, appeared in the social-democratic party in Germany and presented a series of clouded, half-socialistic theories, which gave Engels a reason for writing his famous opposition book, entitled "Eugene Duehring's Overthrow of Science," part of which appear in English under the title, "Socialism Utopian and Scientific." It was a work of duty, which Engels found it necessary to produce, because it looked as though the new ideas would confuse the understanding among different German socialists. This book is today one of the greatest importance because it gives a popular view of the theory of socialism.

The correspondence also throws light on the history of the French socialist movement, in a series of letters that Marx wrote during his stay in Paris in 1882. Here, as in Germany a half dozen

years before, lay two parties at war with each other, tearing each other to pieces in bitter quarrels. Marx had trouble both with the Marxians and anti-Marxians. The Marxians were led by Lafargue and Guesde, and that Marx was far from enthusiastic over the tactics that they used appears in a letter:

"I have already aired my grievance to you in a few lines about Lafargue's and Guesde's stupidities. It is beyond me how one, when he leads a movement, can so thoughtlessly and foolishly risk everything—for no earthly use."

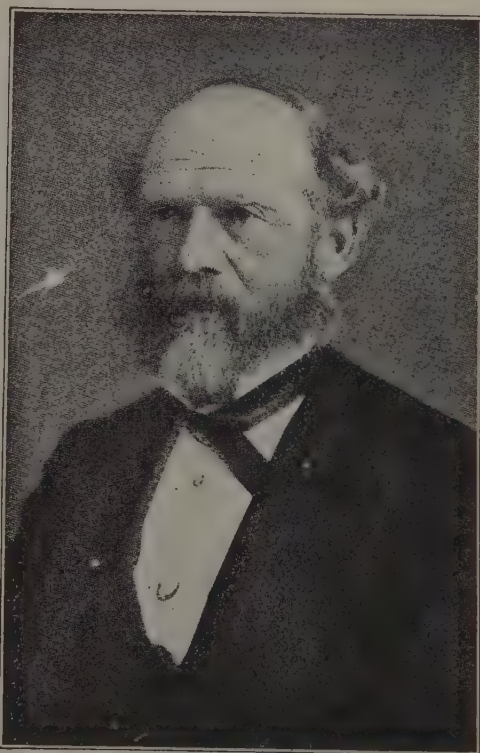
Many were the diseases of infancy of the Socialist party, and trouble and trials in its childhood in the different countries. These caused many regrets and worries to the two men, who kept a keen lookout over the movement, and followed the awakening of the proletariat throughout the world. The workers' sound sense came more and more to the fore and made itself felt in the party life. Marx and Engels had dedicated their lives to the movement, and it was with the deepest satisfaction that they saw in their life-evening the movement that had been so terribly weak grow so strong that it was no longer possible to stop it and whose final victory is, sooner or later, assured.



ANCIENT SOCIETY

— OR —

Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization



LEWIS H. MORGAN

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EDITORIAL

DIRECT ACTION

THE three Direct Action victories that have been won the past month are worthy of the close consideration of the working class everywhere. In Bayonne, N. J., where the workers in the Standard Oil plant had no organization whatever, they walked out on strike for an increase in wages of 15 per cent. As usual the Rockefeller thugs appeared to "guard" the company property and shot down and killed several strikers and several onlookers. Trouble broke loose and Sheriff Kinhead, of Hudson county, arrested eighty armed guards for "inciting to riot," as well as the superintendent of the Rockefeller plant and several strikers. But he gave Bayonne to understand from the start, that he would permit no murderous Standard Oil thugs to jeopardize the lives of its citizens. The strike occurred in too populous a neighborhood for the Rockefeller interests to resort to Ludlow methods and the Standard Oil capitulated, granting an increase to the strikers of from 5 to 15 per cent. A few hundred unorganized workmen and women thus wrung a substantial increase in wages from the greatest corporation on earth by a determined strike.

It is not yet positively known what benefits the Welsh miners will reap from their splendid defiance of the British Government, when, in the face of that Government's threat to imprison every miner who went on strike, and to fine him \$15.00 a day as long as he remained on strike, they hurled their defiance in the face of Europe and struck in a body—150,000 strong.

The Welsh miners used *Direct Action* when the Government could least spare them, disregarding all the pleas and re-

quests of their conservative union officials for peace. Already the newspapers state that they gained nearly everything they asked for and that the Government finds itself utterly incapable of carrying out its Munition Law for the fining and imprisonment of 150,000 Welsh miners.

Here in Chicago a few weeks ago every street car man in the city went on strike at the same hour of the same day. The elevated trains were stopped and all the surface lines were tied up. The two unions of the carmen had learned to act *together* to bring the exploiters to time—and thus—after a three-day scare, in which they thoroughly demonstrated to the people of Chicago how helpless we are without street car service, they agreed to submit their grievances to arbitration because they had won the privilege of choosing their own arbiters.

The result was a splendid victory for the street car men who gained almost all their demands.

In spite of the gloom that surrounds the places where Socialists congregate these days—these three victories are the most encouraging thing we have seen this year. The Welsh miners defying the British Government and gaining their demands, ought to open all eyes to the power possessed by the working class if they will only act en masse when the enemy is least prepared to fight.

No government in the world can be strong unless it is supported by the working class and the moment the working class learns its own power, it can bring any state to its knees. It can secure all its demands and take over the world for the workers.

While we are on the subject of Direct

Action, we might point out that the workers who have most strongly opposed violence, sabotage and direct action during the past ten years, are today engaged in the most violent, the most murderous war of direct action ever recorded in human history, are sabotaging their brother workers over the national boundary lines and go-

ing mad in a gigantic debauch of destruction, murder and bloodshed.

Direct action against the capitalist class may prove of great benefit to the producers of wealth, but direct action in capitalist wars can only mean greater poverty, misery and degradation to the workers who carry on these wars.—M. E. M.

A Socialist Petition to Congress.

We believe a serious mistake has recently been made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party—a mistake which if it were to pass unchallenged might have a deplorable effect on our movement. The following petition has been officially endorsed. Blanks are being sent out from the National Office with the comment: "Every local should rush the petition."

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Greeting:

We, the undersigned people of the United States demand of your body relief from financial bondage.

We demand that it be made lawful and obligatory upon the National Government to loan money to all such states as shall request the loan of same when such states permit the re-loaning of such money at not over three per cent interest to individuals, under such rules and regulations as will safeguard the repayment of such loans and that it be made lawful and obligatory upon the National Government to loan money to States, Counties and Municipalities of the United States of America when such moneys are to be used for the carrying out of public improvements, when the demand for such loan is made by the legally constituted authorities. The security for all such loans, whether reloaning by the state or for public improvements, to be non-interest bearing bonds issued upon a referendum vote of the respective sub-divisions. We suggest that one per cent of the total loaned be charged to the beneficiaries of such loan to pay the expenses of the transaction. We trust that speedy action will be had in this matter by you, to the end that we may be relieved from paying further tribute to the present banking system.

The petition is urged by comrades in whose loyalty and sincerity we have full confidence. Comrade Arthur LeSueur, who introduced the N. E. C. motion for its circulation, writes:

This petition to Congress will be the most popular petition ever presented to Congress, and certainly will be so at least so far as our party is concerned. For more than a generation there has been a tremendous undercurrent of discon-

tent against the present banking system, which has taken the form of the Farmers' Alliance, American Society of Equity, Farmers' Union and other organizations, and radical movements. Unfortunately our party has not taken the time and pains to take the necessary steps to place ourselves in direct contact with the great mass of social discontent that these movements indicate, and thus pave the way for new blood that will flow into our ranks from the most sturdy strata of our complex society. We have devoted too much effort to the question of production and too little to distribution and exchange.

It is well enough to discuss wages and tools but our work is woefully inadequate if we do not place equal emphasis upon usury and all that is thereby implied.

The motion for this petition originated as a national committee motion in Local Fort Worth, Texas, and was written by W. J. Bell of Tyler, Texas, the National Committeeman from the largest agricultural state in the union. If the bulk of our membership will get behind this petition we can go into the 1916 campaign with all the agricultural states in the union lending a ready ear to our propaganda because we will for the first time have stressed the three great evils that make up capitalism, rent, interest and last and least profits.

These arguments are worthy of serious consideration, but in our opinion the objections to them are conclusive. In the first place, we, as Socialists, realize that Congress, with the exception of one man, is composed of politicians controlled by the capitalist class, who may always be counted on to stand for the interests of the capitalists as against the workers. For us to petition such a Congress, instead of denouncing it, implies that we are begging favors from the capitalist class instead of organizing to overthrow it. What we should do instead of petitioning for laws is to instruct our representatives in Congress to introduce such measures as we endorse.

But again, we should take care to endorse only such measures as will really benefit the working class and hasten the

coming of the revolution. Now, the proposed law includes two distinct propositions. One is in the direction of public ownership of the means of production, which is good, provided that such public ownership is coupled with democratic control. The other is designed to strengthen and perpetuate a class of small capitalists. And it would even fail in this aim, as experience abundantly proves. In Comrade Robert H. Howe's recent book, "The Evolution of Banking," a chapter is devoted to the State Bank of Illinois. From 1821 to its failure in 1831, and again from its re-establishment in 1835 to its final failure in 1843, this bank did just what our comrades are now proposing; it lent public credit to individuals for the purpose of profit-making. The result was that most of the money was used for land speculation and other schemes of no benefit to any one but the borrowers. More than half of the loans were never repaid. The largest borrowers were the directors of the bank and the members of the legislature.

It must be remembered that if such a law were to be passed in the near future as petitioned, it would be administered by old-party officials, and would be used in the interest of the capitalists to whom they owe their jobs. If the small farmers were to succeed in getting loans at low rates, the effect of this would simply be to boost the price of farm lands and make it harder than ever for a tenant to become an owner.

The proposal to issue United States notes to states and municipalities for public improvements is a different matter. Progress in this direction is bound to come, and may be beneficial to the working class, especially through diminishing unemployment. But the chief task of the Socialist Party will not be to hasten state control of industry; that will come as fast as we are ready for it. Our fight, and it will be a hard one, will be to bring the control of working conditions into the hands of the workers, no matter whether the employer be a capitalist corporation or a capitalist state. If we forget this, and allow our party to degenerate into something like the "People's Party" of twenty years ago, we shall meet the fate of the "People's Party"—and shall deserve it.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

A Socialist Split in Germany? The two wings are drifting farther and farther apart in Germany. At the present moment it seems probable that after the war there will be two Socialist parties. Or, rather, there will be a Socialist party and an opportunist, reformist-war party, made up of persons hitherto known as Socialists. The Socialist party may be small. But it may be larger than we suppose now. Anti-war Socialists—that is, Socialists—are not allowed to say what they think. The anti-war case is never fairly stated. The leaders of opinion on this side have hardly any chance to gather the followers ready to come to them. The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party will issue a long manifesto against them. They will be denounced as traitors, self-seekers and party-wreckers. Every article, every speech of theirs will be represented as a crime. When they reply they are limited to saying very politely that they do not agree with the statements made by the Executive Committee. After the war, they suggest, they will explain exactly what the truth is about their principles and purposes. The Executive Committee statements are published far and wide; those of the rebels are hunted down both by government and party officials. Under these circumstances it is plainly impossible for the real Socialists of Germany to get together. Nobody knows how many of them there are.

There is little use in going over all the documents and incidents in the struggle between the two groups. But a few of them ought to be mentioned here on account of the importance which may attach to them in the future. In the first place,

it should be remarked that the famous peace manifesto of the party Executive Committee is a very confused and feeble document. It is hard to see why the censor should prohibit the appearance of Vorwaerts for a week on account of the publication of it. In one passage it proclaims that "the great mass of English and French Socialists connected with the International Bureau * * * are determined to make war until Germany is utterly destroyed." This is not true, of course, but even if it were, it would not be a good argument to present to the German government in favor of peace. In fact, it is evident in every paragraph that this is not at all a peace manifesto but an attempt to defend the party leaders against attacks made upon them for not standing for peace. What they want is peace within the party. The only war they are against is the war on their false position. Here they have gathered together every scrap of speech from their record in favor of peace or against aggression—and a feeble record it is they have patched up. The real slashing attack is not against the war-makers, but against "irresponsible" critics within the party.

Before this manifesto was issued—on June 26—there were a number of others on both sides of the controversy which is raging. After the publication of the *International* the Executive Committee sent out a long and labored denunciation of it. This was very effectively answered by Franz Mehring and his friends. Then Kautsky, Haase and Bernstein issued their protest against annexation of foreign territory. Again the Executive Committee got into action. Its chief business

is to put down Socialism. The three old warhorses—especially Haase—were denounced for speaking out without notifying the officials of their intentions. Haase replied that he would do the same thing over again whenever he saw fit. This was during the middle of June.

At the end of June and during the first days of July the conflict raged about another document. This is a general statement in opposition to the position taken by the party since August 4, 1914. It has now been signed by 700 party officials and other active workers. So it has become a famous round-robin.

It was in connection with this round-robin that the first open talk of a party break occurred. The authors said the party leaders would have to be held responsible for the results of their policy. The Executive Committee replied: "Every threat of a party split is a crime against the party and against the entire working class." Since then talk about the possibility of a split and the responsibility for it has been open and violent. The war "Socialists" are, some of them, violent in their demand for the expulsion of the Socialists from the party. "We want to rid ourselves of the illusionists," says the *Volksblatt für Anhalt*. "The chasm between the opposing conceptions is too wide to be bridged," says Herr Kolb in a pamphlet. "If our unity is not to be a mere matter of form, then there is nothing for it but to establish real unity," adds the *Karlsruhe Volksfreund*.

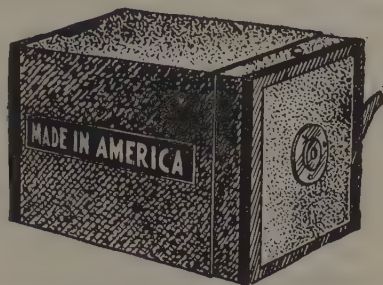
After all there may be a German section ready for the new International.

War and Class-War in England. I am ready to take back anything I have ever said against the fighting spirit of the English working class, and especially the Welsh working class. To be sure, some Germans are working up a bit of tardy courage with which to face the Kaiser's government, and even in France there are now a few who do not surge with the crowd. Things are looking up everywhere. Working people are gradually coming to their senses. But the English have more independence than any others—unless the others be the Italians.

It is true that there is incentive enough for a little show of fight. While pious English clergy, press and statesmen are howling against German atrocities it would

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be difficult to imagine atrocities worse than those which English capitalists are perpetrating at home. Profits for mining, coal and steel companies have increased enormously. Figures have been published which show that large concerns have doubled or trebled last year's figures.

This is partly due to the fact that the union rules have been broken down almost everywhere. Many of the union members have gone to the war. Unskilled workers, including women and children, have taken their places. Hours of work are unspeakable. Robert Williams, Secretary of the Transport Workers, reports that according to the government's figures, men in the shell industry are working 80 hours a week. Here is part of the table which he gave to the press: Men working over 80 hours per week, 94 per 1,000; men working over 75 up to 80 hours, 87 per 1,000, etc. That is, in a great industry nearly a tenth of the men are working the equivalent of seven twelve-hour days a week. And this is not all. Machines are unprotected, people are crowded together, there is no time to teach them to avoid dangers. The number of accidents breaks all records.

With things nearly as bad as possible the munitions bill was passed early in July to make them worse. This bill makes arbitration of labor differences before a government board compulsory. Any worker who strikes is to be fined five pounds per day. Conditions of labor are to be prescribed by government agents. Any worker who refuses to obey any regulation will be fined not more than three pounds. Trials will be before a "Munitions Court" made up from a panel selected by the Minister of Munitions.

This is to say, an end is to be put to labor unionism in England. At one stroke the English workers lose what they have fought a century to obtain. In a masterly speech against the bill Comrade Phillip Snowden said: "We were told by the Minister of Munitions the other day that trade unionists must rely on the honor of a great nation for the restitution of their rights after the war is over. I prefer a very definite clause in an act of Parliament rather than the honor of a great nation. I venture the statement that there is nothing at all in this bill which

The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine

By C. OSBORNE WARD

Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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Spartans used slaves as soldiers and murdered them at the end of the war.
A strike of 20,000 miners that destroyed the empire of Athens.
Crucifixion the penalty for strikers at Rome.
Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.
Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.
Rome's organized working men and working women.
History of Labor Unions at Rome preserved in ancient inscriptions.
ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RED FLAG.

Partial Contents of Volume II

How the Roman State deceived and destroyed the labor unions.
Strikes of the Hebrew and other slaves in ancient Egypt.
A vast system of secret trade unions throughout the ancient world.
Brotherhoods of workers in India.
Jewish and non-Jewish labor unions just before Christian era.
Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.
Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Constantine.

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guarantees the resumption of union rules after the war is over."

The operation of this measure covers all the chief industries of the nation, transportation, ship-building, coal, steel, etc. It gives to the employers in these industries, with their war markets, a set of slaves for workers. At least that is its intent. On the other hand, profits are to be limited in only a few unnamed "selected" industries. And Comrade Snowden showed conclusively that this will amount to nothing. If profits are limited to ten per cent enormous surplus incomes can be kept in the treasury or distributed in various ways.

In another direction it is evident that the government is favoring the armament ring. Both Phillip Snowden and Will Crooks have stated publicly that the government arsenal at Woolwich is worked to only a part of its capacity. They gave proof in detail and the statement has not been denied. This means that the ministry is throwing orders to the big capitalists which might be filled by the government itself.

The munitions bill had hardly become a law when 200,000 Welsh miners went on strike. A fine of ten dollars a day imposed on these men would have netted the government a tidy income. But that fine was never imposed. The men demanded a five per cent increase in wages and exemption from the munitions bill. The chairman of the Board of Trade and the Minister of Munitions were hustling about to find a way to save their reputations—and the editor of the *New York Times* said the men were "sordid" and showed "little appreciation of the higher purposes of mankind."

Finally the munitions bill was not applied, the men were given a raise and went back to work. So the "sordid" Welshmen got a little better living for their families by neglecting for the moment the "higher purpose" of killing the Germans.

And all through this bitter time the Independent Labor Party is standing firm. No other group anywhere has ever been more reviled. The Clarion people rage like folk possessed at the very thought of them. In a recent number Alexander Thompson speaks of "the Lit-

tle Bethel statesmanship which has brought British Socialism to the verge of bankruptcy, the chronic futile carping and cavil of its exasperated spite, sour Snowden's sneers and snarls at national effort, the sullen systematic malevolence of Machiavelli Macdonald's baffled ambition"—and there is a lot more of the same sort in the same sentence. All that Mr. Thompson means is that Snowden, Macdonald, Keir Hardie and the others are for Socialism and against the war, and therefore he is mad.

But the Independent Labor Party goes on steadily preaching Socialism and internationalism. It fights English capitalists just as hard now as it did before they were fighting German capitalists. It has issued a series of pamphlets explaining the war. It has drawn up a program of the work to be done in preparation for peace. For, in the opinion of the I. L. P. comrades, the most terrible struggle in the history of English labor will come after "the outbreak of peace."

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BOOK REVIEWS



Out of Work, a study in unemployment, by Frances A. Kellor, author of *Experimental Sociology, Athletic Games in the Education of Women*, etc.; published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 6 West 45th St., New York, N. Y. Price, \$1.50.

An extensive and searching analysis of unemployment in America—its extent, its causes with the suggestion of means by which it may be relieved. The book is significant because it is not an academic study written in a library and based on labor reports and statistics; it is a laboratory product based on direct personal knowledge of the conditions of America's labor market. People interested in alleviating the condition of the unemployed may find some stimulating suggestions in this book. But its value to a Socialist lies in its wonderful wealth of data, of statistics, of facts and incidents. It is a good book for the Socialist propagandist, so long as he does not satisfy himself with working for mere alleviation, but for the abolition of poverty!

Socialism as the Sociological Ideal; by Floyd J. Melvin, Ph. D.; published by Sturgis & Walton Company, 33 W. 27th St., New York, N. Y. Price, \$1.25 net.

A careful summary of current academic ideas about the Socialist movement in which Dr. Melvin points out that true democracy is marching toward Socialism. The view of the author is purely from the standpoint of politics. He still hopes for a governing government, but one in which all men have equal opportunity to secure legislation and each submits his legislative propositions to all. Then he says, "no further safeguard for the preservation of individual liberty could be devised." This is a sincere and stimulating volume, but when we consider that the state has ever been the weapon with which the owning or possessing class has kept the slaves or workers in subjection, it would appear to us that when the workers own the industries themselves, the state, with its function of suppression of the workers, or of support of the owners and all necessity for the state, would disappear. Marx and Engels said we would capture the state but only to throw it overboard, its purpose having been served. We will no longer need any state. We will need a committee of workers from the various industries to report on the production and distribution of all the things that satisfy the wants of man.

What of the Proposed Congress, by George D. Herron; published by *The Clarion*, London, England.

A timely little booklet on the treason of the various Socialist movements, particularly the German Social Democracy. Prof. Herron shows how the 5,000,000 Socialists or so-called Socialists of Germany failed positively and negatively. He shows how they could have made the war impossible. No other organization ever held in its hands so great

an opportunity to strike a blow at the capitalist system, and they not only threw it away, but ENDORSED the war, voted the war funds, volunteered to serve. At coming International Congresses Mr. Herron says, we shall be free from the dominion of the German Social Democrats. They will be judged by the representatives of the other nations. One thing the war has taught us, Dr. Herron says. It has taught us that we must have a freer and braver movement in the future where "there shall be no Socialist popes and dialecticians, but only free and fraternal sons of a truly Socialized and unified community."

The Limitation of Offspring, by Dr. William J. Robinson; published by Critic & Guide Company, 12 Mt. Morris Park, New York City. Price, \$1.00.

Dr. Robinson has given us a number of unanswerable arguments for the prevention of conception, for the limitation of offspring, particularly among the poor and the sick. He covers the subject from every conceivable angle and offers splendid suggestions on how to bring the law against the propagation of knowledge for prevention into such disrepute that it will become a dead letter. He believes, and rightly, we think, that if a dozen wealthy and influential women would openly circulate literature on the limitation of offspring, Anthony Comstock would be afraid to cause their arrest; would be made the laughing stock of the country, as he is now among intelligent people, and free press become a fact in this

Why I Am a Socialist, by Charles Edward Russell; published by George H. Doran Company, 38 West 32nd St., New York, N. Y. Price, 50 cents net (new edition).

This famous and highly human book on what made a Socialist of so well-known a newspaper man as Charles Edward Russell, is given a greatly added importance by the addition of a chapter on "Socialism and the Great War," telling precisely what Russell saw first hand in Belgium and the remedies which Socialism proposes to apply to prevent a repetition of this war. As editor, managing editor and star reporter of many famous newspapers, as star feature writer for the magazines and as one of the most prominent Socialist speakers in America, Mr. Russell speaks with charm and from so varied an experience that, we all agree with what Jack London said when he read the book: "In this book I find human-interest stories fat with the facts of life and packed with the liveliest of economics." Charles Edward Russell has lived so richly, so fully, that everything he writes bubbles over with "stories by the way" that are a never-ending source of delight to all lovers of good literature. This is a book of delightful STORIES by one of the best story tellers in America—and the result, the sum of these tales made a Socialist—will continue to equal—NEW SOCIALISTS!



NEWS AND VIEWS

From a South Wales Miner—I thought, perhaps, that it would interest you to know that we, the South Wales miners, are out on strike today, Thursday, 15th of July, over our demands for a new agreement. These demands, which were drawn up and formulated before the war broke out, consists of: (1) The establishing of a new standard by merging 50 per cent out of the already existing 60 per cent into the old standards of 1879, etc., leaving the remaining 10 per cent to form a new minimum upon what would be called the 1915 standard. (2) The payment of six turns for five for the afternoon and night shifts. This is already in operation in a great number of the collieries, so all that is asked is for it to be applied universally. (3) And that this extra turn shall be divided proportionately to the time worked. That is into fifths. (4) That afternoon and night hauliers to be paid at the same rate as the day hauliers. Again at some collieries this has been done, but it is not universal; so it is to get rid of these anomalies that is the object of the proposal. (5) Surface men to be paid 5s a day. These are the chief proposals, with a couple of minor ones added to them.

Well, Comrade, no doubt you are aware that our previous agreement terminated on the last day of June; this included the three months' notice that was given. Well, during all this time, instead of the South Wales coal owners reasonably considering and conceding our demands, which would not cost then altogether any more than from 4½d to 6d a ton, as was shown by the investigation of the Board of Trade experts, they set up a howl that we were deliberately taking advantage of the national crisis to enforce our demands upon them. And this in spite of the fact that the proposals were formulated before the war commenced. In my opinion, it is the coal owners and the rest of the capitalist class that has taken advantage of the war to crush the workers, seeing the enormous profits that they are piling up to help them to still further crush us when the war has ended. But, of course, there is nothing said about that by either the capitalists or their government. As a matter of fact, the government is helping to do the crushing, as is plainly seen by all these legislative proposals that they are bringing on. Whilst the coal owners can reap in their

increase on the selling price of coal from as much as 5s a ton for small coal and 7s or 8s a ton for large coal, or, I should have said, screened coal, which includes a good many kinds, the colliers must go on slaving away and allow them to go on exploiting us, or they accuse us of assisting the enemy if we dare to stop to enforce our demands for a miserable portion of what they are robbing us of, and which we gave them an extra 14 days in which to come to a settlement upon.

But no, true to their greedy, grasping nature, they will never concede us anything without fighting for it. They want the lot, and that we should be content to go on allowing them to exploit and crush us down to a bare existence, and not the best of that. I may say that the extra 14 days was taken up by the government intervening to try and reach a settlement. And they have deliberately tried to deceive and gull us by apparently conceding most of our proposals, but in reality their proposals were worse than the original ones. So now that we have decided to come out on strike, they are calling us everything that is bad, and threatening us with all kinds of dire penalties to try and coerce us and intimidate us back into work. As to how long it will last I am unable to say, as personally I view the position with mixed feelings, as apparently the men are determined to fight it out, but we lack effective and efficient organization. While we are out, the rest of the British coal field is at work for one thing. Then another thing is that the men are continually having it dinned into their ears that they are injuring the men at the front. But I think that this is about the last stand that we shall be able to make and that if we fail to take it we are in for drubbing. Well, Comrade, I should like to say that I am very pleased and interested in the articles that appear in the *REVIEW* from time to time, especially those entitled, "Savage Instincts in Higher Peoples." I remain yours for the revolution.—William Hoare.

Alaska Approves.—Comrade Holst of Fairbanks writes: "The little old *REVIEW* is a great thing every time it arrives, but for it I would not know what is going on on the 'Outside,' as we say here. I have read Mary Marcy's 'Shop Talks on Economics,' and say, it is just the clear dope. And one can't praise Prof. Moore's 'Law of Biogenesis' too high. Keep it up." During these

war hard times such a letter puts new life into the office force. We just want to thank Comrade Holst for sending in this little bit of inspiration.

From the Old Guard.—Comrade Reynolds of Tiffin, Iowa, sends in a dollar to renew his REVIEW subscription for the fifteenth time. He has been with the magazine almost since its beginning and says: "I am three score and nearly fifteen years old and I am no longer able to fight in the trenches, but I want the revolutionary news. I have been with you for fifteen years. I get something in the REVIEW that I do not get in any other periodical."

The Review Is the Best.—Comrade Scott of Indianapolis, writes: "I enclose a dollar bill to renew my REVIEW subscription. I consider the REVIEW is the BEST of the Socialist magazines and I take many of them. I would not willingly do without it."

Eight From New Castle.—Comrade Hurn of New Castle sends us in a letter that is worth a lot to us here who are having a hard struggle during the war and the lapse into patriotism of so many Socialists. He enclosed eight dollars for eight yearlies. And everybody in the office grinned at this sort of support and co-operation. It is like a pat on the back and congratulations with a big lift over a hard place. Here's to more Hurns!

Another Conspiracy Against Labor Exposed.—After seven years patient waiting, Smith and PRESTON are proven innocent.

Joseph W. Smith and Morrie R. Preston were falsely accused and convicted, Smith of manslaughter and Preston of second degree murder, at Goldfield, Nev., in May, 1907.

Smith was paroled after he had served four and a half years of a ten-year sentence, which has now expired. Preston served seven years of a twenty-five year sentence and was paroled in April, 1914. Preston is now seeking a complete pardon and has gathered a large mass of evidence, which proves conclusively that he, Smith and the union which was the real object of attack were made the victims of as foul a conspiracy as was ever "framed up."

The true facts of this case, which have been suppressed and garbled by the press, and the story of the unjust conviction and incarceration are being published, in complete form for the first time, in a pamphlet recently published.

The material for this pamphlet was gathered by Preston and the work edited by A. GRANT MILLER, Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator from Nevada at the last state election. Mr. Miller represented Preston before the Board of Pardons and has included in the pamphlet the main part of his argument before the board.

Every union man and every Socialist, who wants to know the facts of a typical conspiracy against labor and every citizen who wants to be fair in judging men on trial, should have and should study this pamphlet.

Although this "frame up" was concocted and executed in great part successfully, eight years ago, the same thing may happen today and you or any other unprotected citizen may be the victim this time.

The possibility may seem remote but for him who is active in affairs it is imminent and every man who takes an interest in labor affairs ought to acquaint himself with the methods used to "railroad" these two victims.

The pamphlets are being sold at ten cents (10c) per copy, the profits being used to defray the expenses of the plea to the board for Preston's pardon, and copies will be mailed on receipt of price. Bunch orders are preferred as the profits are larger.

Any one wishing copies of the pamphlet or wishing to contribute to the defense fund, may address,

MORRIE R. PRESTON,
Box 183
Carson City, Nev.

What a Live Local Accomplished.—"Several months ago Guelph Local No. 5, S. D. P. of Canada started to agitate for Socialist books in the public library, which resulted in our shipping a choice selection of Socialist books to the Guelph public library on April 1, amounting to over \$30 and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW can also be found on the library tables.

"This is proof positive of what a 'live' bunch of Socialists can do who sincerely wish to help the publishing house in carrying on its educational work. If more Socialist locals in the United States would go into capture the public libraries, there would not be so much reform piffle put out by our party under the label of 'Socialist Literature'."

Congratulations to our Guelph comrades and let us hope there are other revolutionary, Socialist locals in Canada who will do likewise and unite with us to put scientific, Socialist books on the shelves of every public library.

From New Mexico.—"The REVIEW is the most interesting magazine I have ever read. Enclosed find another yearly subscription besides my own and you may send me as a premium Jack London's book, 'The Abysmal Brute'."—Geo. S. Williams.

From Pennsylvania.—"I consider the REVIEW the most efficient magazine we have for Socialist, educational purposes, printed in America, and take pleasure in sending in my renewal along with a yearly subscription for a new recruit to the REVIEW army."—Paul Fragle.

From Wisconsin.—"Must say so far we have found THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to be the best Socialist magazine in America. Its up to the minute in everything including illustrations. It is clean cut and the articles are written in such a way that those who are opposed to Socialism are tempted to read and think. We must each of us do what we can and you keep up your good work for the cause of Socialism."—Mrs. John Herold.

From Canada.—"You ask for suggestions for improving the REVIEW. Just keep on in the direction you are going by sticking to science and revolutionary articles. The REVIEW talks straight to the working class, and it is bound to bring results."—Oliver Johnston.

From a Cleveland Railroader—"I note what you say about business being dull with you and I can say the same for the R. R. business: the murdering machinery business was pretty good before the Fourth, as we were hauling a lot of iron ore, but are hauling much less at the present time. The Socialist contention is certainly being verified on the N. Y. C., as last year we hauled 35 cars of ore and this year the locomotives are so much larger that we haul 62 cars of ore to a train. Our pool on the branch I am on is cut from 17 to 8 and we make less now than formerly."—E. O.

From a Railroad Telegrapher—"I have made several attempts to hang on to my REVIEWS after I have read them, but it seems impossible, as some one confiscates them inside of 48 hours. The last one I received, which had the article in about 'Fixing the Engineer's Pay,' was passed from one engineer to another by me writing on front page to please pass me along. You can bet I am with you for a 'Real International Working Class Movement.'"—G. O.

The Review Dares—"The REVIEW seems to be the only Socialist publication that dares to handle the present international situation fair and square from a proletarian standpoint. Yours for the Revolution."—Lars Storwick, Silvana, Wash.

Local Mark of Seattle Starts Timely Referendum—Genuine rebel women stand side by side with men in the working-class battle line but stand on their own feet and scorn to use the names of husbands for the sake of adding unearned prestige to what they may have to say. This throw-back upon bourgeois attitudes could only be expected in one who could write such an article as lately appeared in the NEW REVIEW under the eminent name of Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, and one can almost hear her calling herself a lady by way of distinction!

The matter is here, however, that she denies the class struggle, repudiates the doctrine and moves to abandon all use of the phrase in party declarations. She writes from the party viewpoint and it is therefore presumed that she is a party member, in which event there should be on file somewhere a party application card signed by her, in which she expressly declares her recognition of the class-struggle as the very foundation upon which the Socialist party is reared. With true leisure class agility she seeks to disarm opposition by anticipating in derisive fashion the charge of "party treason." In our view it is not merely that, but further, that it is a matter of deception and false pretense. She either dissembles now or stultified herself at the time of joining the party.

There are others. At the Olalla, Washington, Socialist encampment, Mr. Glen E. Hoover, a Seattle lawyer, made a like attack upon Socialist fundamentals. Pertinent to the date, but not to the occasion, he declared it as his belief that the American revolution did not spring from economic or material conditions, but rather glorified the capitalists Han-



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cock and Washington as disinterested heroes and saviors. He ridiculed the deterministic philosophy and the materialist conception of history, and from this it would follow that he likewise takes no stock in the class-struggle doctrine, although a party member by virtue of a signed statement to the contrary in his application card. To our way of thinking, without these fundamentals there exists no distinct justification for a Socialist party and that in fact what we have supposed to be a historic movement is a myth. Moreover, it occurs to us that those who have the hardihood to repudiate and renounce the very declaration upon which they secured the privilege of membership in the first place should have the decency voluntarily to take themselves out of the party, rather than, like the Arab's camel, seeking shelter for its head, then rising to destroy the habitation offering that hospitality.

That our party constitutions do not provide for expulsion in such cases can be explained only by the fact that it has never occurred to any of us that there could be such duplicity. Local Mark of Seattle at a recent meeting attempted to provide for such contingencies by moving an amendment to the effect that party members expressing views contrary to their own statements in their applications shall be dealt with in the manner provided for party treason. All locals interested are requested to respond promptly with overwhelming seconds.

LALLA ROGERS, Secretary.

1433 Lakeside avenue, Seattle.

The Last War; by George Barrett; published by the Workers' Freedom Group, 2 Hill St., Totterdown, Bristol, England, at one penny, is the best brochure the war has brought forth on war from the point of view of the working class.

Mr. Barrett calls on the workers of the world to seize the opportunity that war gives them to attack the Invaders of the World, who have despoiled those who produce the world's wealth. An invaluable booklet to place in the hands of workingmen and women. The following is a quotation from the wealth of good things Mr. Barrett says:

WAR

It is war we proclaim, the last war, the international war in which the workers of all lands shall be united against the invaders—the rich who have seized the land and lived on the labor of the poor.

This is the war that remains yet to be fought. Is it possible? Nay, it is inevitable. It may be delayed but it cannot be prevented. Already and everywhere dimly the worker sees the injustice of his lot and recognizes his folly in laboring so hard, while he enjoys so little of the fruit of his work. Many a man in each army engaged today knows in his heart that the enemy soldiers are men just as he is, no better and but little worse. These dim thoughts only lack boldness, and they would make of each such soldier a revolutionist, who would refuse to fire in such a cause.

It is by this growing courage that the international workers will presently form their

army—not indeed an army like that which their masters' possess, where the soldiers blindly obey their officers and care not if their cause is right or wrong. The workers' army organized for a different purpose must be a very different affair.

OUR ANSWER

Surely this is the answer we ought to be preparing ourselves to make. It would create a revolutionary situation, and no government faced with such internal difficulties, even though the workers were not yet strong enough to make a revolution, would dare to go to war. This would be the surest way to prevent an invasion, for certain it is that even though our comrades abroad were not perhaps so strong in their organization as we were or we so bold as they, yet the workers would still be able to organize sufficient militant strikes to make their government very reluctant to send their army out of the country.

Have we not seen by the huge military camps established in Liverpool, London and other great centers during the recent great strike period, that the master class feels none too safe, even when the workers are, as now, entirely unarmed. It would need but a comparatively small labor movement in England and Germany at the present time to make these governments very quickly change their minds as to who was the real enemy.

The danger of rebellion at home would make a fellow feeling between the opposing governments, and they would very quickly agree to withdraw their armies to shoot their own countrymen. True, it is that we are not yet strong enough to thus defeat war and invasion, but great things have small beginnings, and if we are to wait until we can be successful before we throw our energies into a movement, we shall find that we are always behind. If we are but a few in this movement, which will by and by make war and oppression impossible, it is certain that we should exercise no more influence by joining the hosts of English, French, and Russian invaders than we have by raising the standard of revolt in our countries at home. Powerful, or even powerless then, as the workers' movement may now be, it should take up its stand of definite and uncompromising opposition to the war.

War is a part of the present system, but it is one of its most vulnerable parts, for the system is based on violence, and when the means of violence are fully occupied, a great opportunity occurs for those who have been kept in subjection and poverty by them at home. When we are prepared to take advantage of this opportunity, we shall find that we have not only rendered war impossible, but that we are, perhaps, powerful enough to capture our country from the invaders who now hold it.

From Minnesota—"THE REVIEW suits me to a T. I also take the *Review of Reviews* and it is a real pleasure to me, after going through it, to see how much of vital importance in the world's work and progress they fail to mention, but I find it in our *SOCIALIST REVIEW*, which is always two laps ahead of all other papers and magazines."—E. S. Wheeler.

From Alabama—"I consider the REVIEW to be our most vital publication on account of its clear cut, scientific, revolutionary policy and teaching. I will endeavor to help you double your circulation by way of celebrating the REVIEW's sixteenth birthday as I understand it will be sixteen years old with the July number."—Frank Wynn.

From a Duluth Clerical Worker.—Exploitation of the employees of a commercial club in a city for which that commercial club claims a population of 100,000,—not from the elevator boy to the stenographer, as a Socialist will conceive might be the proletariat's condition even in a commercial club, but from the most menial laborer to even the general secretary of the club is unusual, yet such is the spectacle witnessed by the writer while employed as stenographer in the office of the traffic commissioner, the real executive of the institution of the Commercial Club of Duluth, Minnesota. Of course, this state of affairs is directly opposed to the democratic ideal upheld by professional and political members of the club and others affiliated with the organization for the purpose of promoting the best interests of the city generally. An attempt is being made to "break into the toils of the system" the capable assistant traffic commissioner, an unsophisticated proletarian, socially and politically, that is, everything possible is being done to hold him where he is. In the tactics of the play it might be said of the writer that he was used as a "fast" stenographer, whereas now a slow worker is employed. Likewise, the secretary and assistant are merely pawns in the unique game in which the moves are made by the traffic commissioner, an official who receives a large salary for rendering this rare combination of services.

This contribution may lead some of our clerical comrades to a better realization of the perils of slavery which accompany their work and we hope they will become "broke" into our struggle.

H. A., Duluth.

Good Suggestions from Review Readers—

A Pennsylvania comrade writes: "As quick as I read my REVIEW I pass it along to my friends."

A comrade from Hammond, Ind., writes: "We not only have the REVIEW in our City Public Library, but also a big shelf full of your best socialist books."

An Ohio comrade writes that he now has the REVIEW on sale at eight different news stands in his home town.

Another comrade writes that he makes it a point to carry the REVIEW with him into the factory where he works and during the noon hour he hands it out to some slave to read.

From Florida—"Enclosed find \$3.00 for subscriptions. Keep the REVIEW going in the same old way. We certainly are in need of the inspiring message of revolutionary socialism. I will send more subscriptions soon. The industrial situation is fierce down here in this supposedly new country."—S. G. M.

Education in El Paso—An industrial educational league has been formed in El Paso, Texas. For particulars write Martin Bjorner, 608 North Ochoa street, El Paso, Texas.

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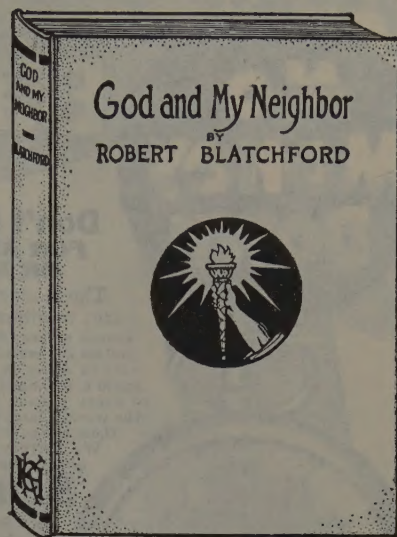
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